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The Commodification of Music Theorising Musicians

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Theorising Musicians

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Abstract

This thesis considers the dialectical relationship between music and commerce and asks the question why are some musicians uneasy with the commodification of their music? This question is considered from the vantage points of professional musicians and their experiences in dealing with the commodification process.

In exploring this dialectic, the thesis is organised around both an interactionist orientation and a framework designed by Holt (2004) in which the research design and question emerges from a conversation between grand and mid-range theory. To this effect a post-Marxist grand theory conversation between several writers who have considered the commodification of culture is presented. Following this the mid-range theory is divided into two separate conversations. First, the literature regarding marketing's use of music as a means of social control is reviewed and organised between positivist and interpretive approaches as they relate to the use of music in retail atmospherics and advertising. Second, a review of the literature concerning the culture industries themselves is presented. The culture industries are divided between the background music industry, the advertising industry, the music industry and finally the art-world. It is noted how each industry is organised around the mythology of theory-x and theory-y employees and this mythology is problematised.

Following this a historicisation of the relationship between music and commerce is presented in which it is noted that conventional morality regarding the production of music is strongly influenced by nineteenth century notions of value and in particular the emergence of the bohemian ideology.

Interviews were conducted with professional musicians from a range of different musical backgrounds in order to consider their experiences of the commodification of their music. The data analysis produced three over-arching themes: 'x versus y', 'alienation' and 'taking responsibility'. Also a fourth umbrella theme is presented which considers all three themes together in the context of interaction of musicians with advertising. The study concludes by theorising the existence of a Sacred Code of Musicianship, which provides a repressive conventional morality for musicians. It is argued that this code is problematic insofar as it regards music and money as two distinct principles. Instead this thesis submits that evading this Sacred Code can give musicians a better chance of achieving their musical and artistic goals by embracing commerce. Last, the implications for the various constituencies of the work are considered.

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of Doctorate in Philosophy, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for an award in any other Institute or University.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the Institute's guidelines for ethics in research.

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Signature Alan Bradshaw **Date** 1.10.2005

Candidate

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In completing this research, I have benefited from the collective goodwill and encouragement of a wide community who have all been instrumental to the completion of this dissertation and also the immense personal satisfaction I have taken from it.

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January, 2005

This dissertation is dedicated to David Roger's goal for Shelbourne FC in their 2-0 victory over Hajduk Split in the European Champions League Second Qualifying Round in Tolka Park on 4 August 2004 in the 77th minute and 33rd second.

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Introduction

> I'm exploited by people who put me on the back of cereal boxes. I can't even eat breakfast without seeing my face!
>
> *David Cassidy*

Being a musician in contemporary times can have an alienating effect on musicians who find themselves caught between artistic ideals and commercial necessity. At some level art is understood to be occupying a different domain to money, yet in following the path towards professionalisation, musicians sometimes find themselves to be the object of a massive commodification drive, such as David Cassidy, whose breakfast was spoilt by finding that his name was printed on the back of his cereal box. How can musicians equate the need to earn money with their intention to create artistic music? Can musicians retain their integrity when their music becomes a marketplace commodity? In fact what does it mean for a musician to have 'integrity' in the first place?

Noting the discomfort of musicians like David Cassidy, this thesis takes as its research question 'Why are some musicians uneasy with the commodification of their music?' Whilst this research question is simply and succinctly put, exploring the issues opens a Pandora's Box of complexities raising questions both inside and outside the realm of music and marketing.

Theorists such as Adorno (2002a) who considered the process of commodity production as it refers to music, concluded that commodification implies reification, yet is it really true that music produced under culture industry conditions has been reified and if so, what does this tell us about our lives under modernity? This thesis considers the nature of

that commodification process as it impacts upon the lives of the musicians themselves to see what light their experiences throw upon our understanding of the subject. Why is it, for example, that some musicians rule out any possibility of allowing their music to be used in advertisements whilst others are happy to gain from the opportunities presented by advertising? Indeed, can it be that understanding these dynamics will give us an insight into why music is sought for advertising in the first place?

Furthermore, as marketing is embedded within the commodification process, it is reckoned that marketing can gain from learning why musicians are puzzled by the use of their music in marketing contexts. It is thought that by addressing the research question we gain an insight into what marketing is, how it impacts upon musicians and how it impacts upon society.

The Organisation of the Thesis

The early chapters are separated between literature which can be described as grand theory and mid-range theory. The approach of considering grand theory and mid-range theory separately can be criticised for creating a false divide of theory and fetishising (and in turn reifying) certain social writers. A more enlightened approach may well have been to dissolve the division between what is regarded as grand theory and mid-range theory. This section shall consider the advantages and disadvantages of this approach and in the process introduce the framework of the dissertation itself through which the theorising takes place which is based on the research of Douglas Holt (2004).

Grand theory has been defined as sociological theory couched at a very conceptual level (Abercrombie et al., 2000) and according to Craib (1992a) grand theory belongs at a very general level, seeking to explain and understand experience on the basis of other experiences and general ideas about the world. Therefore grand theory claims relevance to all the separate areas studied by sociologists.

Mid-range or middle range theory has been defined by Merton (1968) as:

> Middle-range theory is principally used in sociology to guide empirical inquiry. It is intermediate to general theories of social systems which are too remote from particular classes of social behaviour, organisation and change to account for what is observed and to those detailed orderly descriptions of particulars that are not generalised at all. Middle-range theory involves abstractions, of course, but they are close enough to observe data to be incorporated in propositions that permit empirical testing. Middle-range theories deal with delimited aspects of social phenomena as is indicated by their labels. (pp40)

Following from this description we can see that grand theory can be distinguished from mid-range theory by its level of abstraction. This abstraction has been represented by Holt (2004) on a continuum with journalistic case studies devoid of theoretical structuring, seen as unworthy of academic attention at one end, and grand theory, seen as a highly ambitious project at the other end of the spectrum. In the centre lies mid-range theory whereby grand theory is contextualised to a specific domain resulting in a research question which can be addressed by empirical research (Holt, 2004). Another important distinction between grand and mid-range theory was noted by Merton (1968), namely that unlike grand theory, mid-range theory does not embrace the quest for an all-embracing unified theory which would cover every aspect of social behaviour,

organisation and change (pp45). It is at this middle level that Holt suggested doctoral research and indeed the vast majority of academic research ought to take place.

The framework that underlies this thesis was presented by Holt and discussed at the Consumption Classics Seminar hosted by the University of Odense in 2004 and attended by leading academics including Fuat Firat, Søren Askegaard, Dominique Bouchet and Craig Thompson. Firat criticised the approach for taking an either/or approach to grand theory and mid-range theory. Rather, he argued, there needs to be more dialogue between the two and we should read everything and find who enlightens and inspires us[1]. However, on the whole Holt's approach was commended for allowing doctoral researchers to bring an element of praxis into their work emanating from grand theory and for providing a 'conceptual toolkit' or a 'resonance box' to increase the level of insight within the study, taken to be necessary for quality dissertation work.

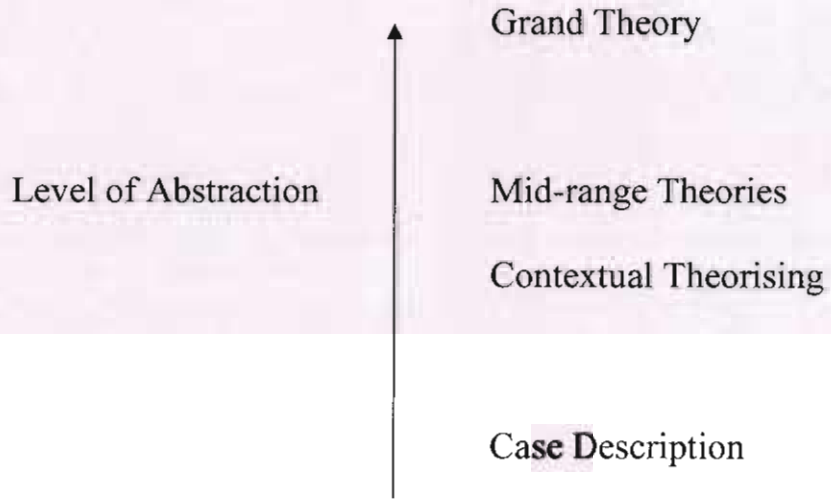

Figure 1 Theory Continuum (Holt, 2004)

[1] This echoes Atkinson & Housely's (2003) critique of how theory is used. They argue that instead of trying to find an exclusive and esoteric position for oneself which is grounded in grand theory, it is more productive to recognise, enjoy and use ideas from wherever they should arise.

Based on his own research (for example see Holt, 1998, 2004), Holt provided the following framework for theorising or rather building mid-range theoretical work. The framework begins with a 'conversation' within grand theory, whereby the research domain emerges from a discussion from several leading grand theorists who wrote contrasting theories on a specific issue, for example how Bataille and Mauss both worked on the concept of expenditure (see Section 1.5.4). Noting how certain theorists tended to be focussed on similar problems and enigmas (such as expenditure), their works can be understood to be in dialogue with each other. For Merton (1968) this 'dialogue' of theorists defines how knowledge is advanced within a paradigm. This framework asks what was that dialogue or conversation within a specific domain and examines how each writer developed the existing ideas allowing us to see the key enigmas in the conversation.

The second stage involves identifying the body of mid-range theory that has been inspired by this conversation. This allows us to apply the grand theory to empirical research in the form of a 'conversation'. At this stage we can ask questions such as what are the central findings, figures and enigmas of the research domain? How do we know what we know? Following such analysis, a research question can be outlined and also the most appropriate empirical and methodological approach to the conversation can emerge.

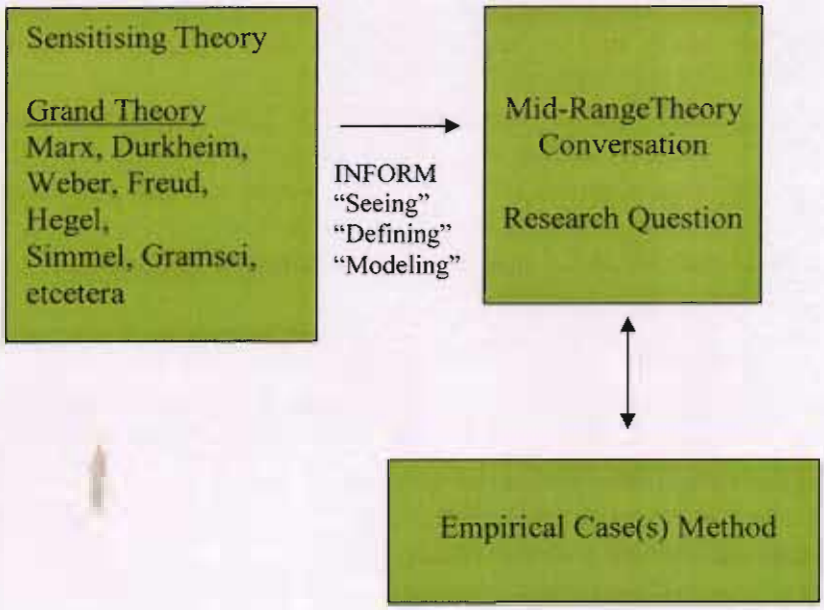

Figure 2 Holt's Framework (2004)

The above framework should be read as a sample as it refers to one particular grand theory conversation consisting of Marx, Durkheim, Weber and others. The object is to adapt the framework to cater for the needs of the current research. The advantage of employing such a framework is that the researcher can overcome a number of problems that have been identified with the use of grand theory in consumer research. Primarily it addresses the concern that there has been a reliance on secondary texts on grand theory and at worst a complete absence of grand theory from doctoral research projects and this has constituted what the seminar faculty staff regard to be a major weakness in the discipline of consumer research (Consumption-Classics-Seminar, 2004). Indeed within sociology, described by Brown as the brother discipline of consumer research (Brown, 2003:pp4), Craib (1992a) describes empirical sociology – which is 'the form of only

collecting facts, of becoming absorbed in technical debates about methodology and statistical correlation, or of relying on empirical sociology to 'expose' the reality behind popular mythology' (pp10-11) - as a trap as it fails to take note of the existing insights within grand theory.

Where grand theory is used it has been criticised in a number of ways. For example Merton (1968) laments the 'intellectually degenerative tendencies' in the use of grand theory ranging from the fetishised reverence held for past masters and also a banalisation of theory where a truth becomes worn and increasingly dubious through being frequently expressed by those who do not understand it (pp30). Holt (2004) complains that grand theory is often reified, in that researchers treat the abstract theory as an end in itself without it being properly contextualised to the physical and temporal location of the research. Furthermore he criticises what he perceives as poor application of grand theory where it is used to 'label' or 'map' a phenomenon, i.e. to describe a phenomenon as hyper-reality without properly embracing the theoretical conversation within which the abstraction resides. Similarly Brown (1995) has referred to the 'galling' (pp153) occurrence and 'abomination' (pp154) whereby marketing writers, or indeed 'postmodern poseurs' (pp154) (within which, as only he could do, he includes himself!) appropriate and wield postmodern terminology 'somewhat indiscriminately' (pp153) resulting in work which he describes as lacking insight and involving no discernable relationship to postmodernism itself. This disdain is certainly shared by Atkinson & Housley (2003) who severely criticise 'fashion-conscious authors' who 'chase these novelties, for all the

world like an immature sports team chasing the ball all over the park' (pp146) - the pursuit then becomes one of 'radical chic' rather than knowledge (pp147).

Further problematics in using grand theory have been described by Craib (1992a) as arising at a political level due to the hostility, suspicion and ultimately lack of resources made available within university departments when a researcher embraces difficult and abstract theory. He describes the process as follows:

> Many people who see themselves primarily as theorists react to this by building a protective arrogance, returning twofold any scorn they might receive. They refuse to compromise their concerns and, indeed, retreat perhaps even further into the obscure and the difficult. The process frequently starts amongst postgraduate students, and it serves to make the necessary gap between teacher and student much wider than it need be at all levels. Amongst students themselves, because theory is so obviously difficult, the theorist takes on an aura that sets her apart from others; she is seen as somehow brighter, better, more able. I have no doubt that many students (and teachers) deliberately deploy this advantage, half-consciously seeking more obscure ways of expressing themselves, adopting the latest translations from Europe before anybody else, puffing out their theoretical feathers. (pp5)

This use of theory for political purposes has also been noted by Atkinson & Housley (2003) who also embarked on a passionate diatribe on such 'puffing of theoretical feathers':

> The contentious and argumentative character of the social sciences – and sociology in particular – has placed too high a value on rejecting ideas in order to adopt an exclusive and esoteric 'position' for oneself. Such a position should, it appears, be based on the exclusive and enthusiastic endorsement of one theorist, one school or one grandiose idea. As a consequence we celebrate a narrow selection of ideas and ignore many others... The constant, restless search for new theories and theorists drives too many sociologists to chase after ideas (preferably from elsewhere) and to discard others in the pursuit of the radical chic. This is especially apparent when we consider the recent vogue for various 'post' tendencies – post-structuralism and postmodernism in particular. (pp146-7)

The problems so far identified in the use of grand theory can be summarised as follows:

- using theory as a superficial form of labelling research without embracing the fibre of the theory itself (as is described as happening within postmodernism)
- using theory as a means of gaining political distinction as the theory becomes deliberately obscured so to augment the reputation of the researcher as a high intellect
- theory is restlessly embraced as the latest 'in' theory
- the theoretical ground is too narrow and not contextualised into a wider theoretical perspective
- the theory becomes reified and not properly contextualised within the research domain

It is argued that Holt's (2004) model provides an approach for addressing grand theory within a research project which, despite its separation of grand from mid-range theory, provides a praxis for theorising that can overcome the problems listed above. Within his model, grand theory is selected in an eclectic manner where leading theorists are put into conversation with each other. This debate is then explored by analysing the empirical research that the conversation has inspired and through this process the research question and design emerge. This provides the research with a framework that can satisfy the criteria of rigour and reproducibility, described by Mason (2002) as essential ingredients in research. Whilst this process does result in some confusion within the thesis which is difficult to defend, for example, Bourdieu is treated as a grand theorist despite the empirical nature of his work whilst Becker is treated as a mid-range theorist despite the increased level of abstraction within his, such confusion is seen as a necessary evil justified by the overall effectiveness of Holt's framework for the purpose of the present study.

The dissertation is therefore organised according to Holt's framework. Chapter one is concerned with the conversation between grand theorists, which relates to the commodity form of the musical object and to the wider debate regarding use value versus exchange value. To this end, a number of grand theorists from the Marxian and post-Marxian tradition are purposively selected. The chapter then sets in 'conversation' selected writings of Marx, Adorno & Horkheimer, Attali, Bataille, Barthes, Bourdieu, Baudrillard and Mauss.

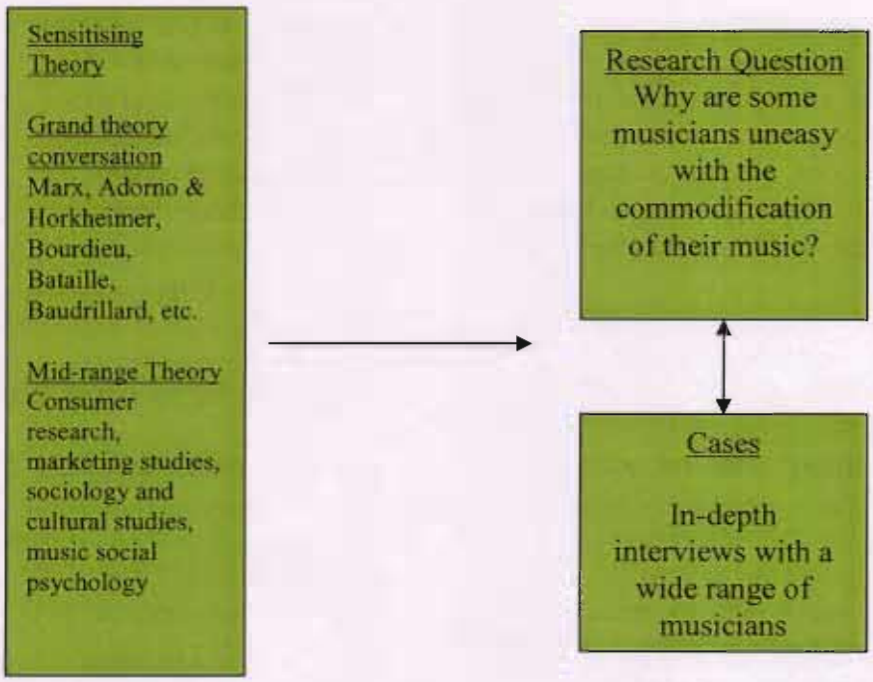

Figure 3 Holt's Framework Adapted

Whilst chapter one is informed by an eclectic mix of grand theory, chapters two moves away from a general treatment of the issues at stake by focusing on empirical studies. Following the Marxian thrust of chapter one, chapter two carries the central concerns

forward by considering how marketing has sought to use music as a means of social control. This entails a literature review into marketing studies relating to the use of background music in retail atmospherics and also into the instance of music in advertising. The literature reviewed considers studies generated within both the positivist and interpretative traditions and explores more macro issues such as the ideology of advertising.

Chapter three deals specifically with the culture industries, which are divided between the background music industry, the advertising industry and the music industry. Following the Marxian consideration of the division of labour, this chapter explores how artistic prestige falls upon certain occupations and tasks within the cultural industries. By exploring the personalities within the industries, the underlying myths regarding theory-x and theory-y style employees (McGregor, 1960) within the field of cultural production are investigated.

Chapter four seeks to address the question, which naturally emerges from chapter three, namely what was the historical process through which this fetishisation of the division of labour came to fall? By historicising the relationship between musicians and commerce from the medieval period to the current day, this chapter explores how the role of the musician in society has constantly been in a state of change. The chapter also charts the introduction of bohemian and romantic values, which it is argued, have proven to be highly influential in how the artist is regarded in society up to the present day.

In chapter five the research methodology and the interactionist nature of the study are outlined. As the study is primarily concerned with the negotiation of the presentation of self, despite the contradictory commercial and artistic ideologies, interactionism is shown to be the appropriate lens with which to view the phenomenon. The chapter contains an introduction to interactionist thought as well as a consideration of the preceding literature review through interactionist goggles. The research methodology and design is introduced and following from the adaptation of Holt's (2004) research framework, the design is located within an existing body of selected research studies.

In chapter six, the data resulting from interviewing musicians is presented. The data analysis produces three themes. The themes commence with 'x versus y', where the mythologies of the creative musician as the antithesis of the bourgeois alienated other is explored. Second, 'alienation' considers how musicians can become despondent as a result of the commodification of their music. Third, 'taking responsibility' explores the irony of how certain musicians, contrary to the bohemian ideology, embrace their administrative tasks. Finally, 'music in advertising' is presented as an umbrella theme under which all three earlier themes are presented in action in the context of musicians licensing music and creating new music for advertisements.

In chapter seven the research takes inspiration from literature and noting how Thomas Mann (1999) interpreted the predicament of musicians under modernity through a lens of good versus evil, this section seeks to build theory by exploring the data findings as a metaphor for the marriage of Heaven and Hell and presents the Sacred Code of

Musicianship. This code is then analysed and problematised. The limits of the thesis are considered and the implications of the study for the various research constituents are presented.

However, as stated this thesis is primarily concerned with the commodification of labour and where better to consider this phenomenon than through the grand theory of Karl Marx which, following a defence of the selected conversation, is now presented in chapter one.

Chapter 1 Grand Theorists in Conversation

1.1 Introduction

This chapter considers a grand theory conversation which includes the voices of nine theorists and writers. First there is an analysis of Marx's theory as it relates to commodification and the resulting alienation of people from their work. Having considered the difference between utility value and exchange value, the conversation is then extended to Adorno & Horkheimer and their consideration of the commodification of culture. Their culture industry theory is then contrasted with the views of Bourdieu, Baudrillard and Barthes.

Next the conversation considers how music can operate at utility value and to this end, the voices of Bataille, Attali and Mauss are introduced and considered relative to Marx's production and consumption nexus and also Adorno's dialectic of 'free time'. Last the conversation concludes by contrasting Adorno's concept of the dialectic of music with Baudrillard's concept of culture as the absolute commodity.

1.2 A Selected Conversation

Following from Holt's framework, a conversation within grand theory is explored. The primary task is to select the most appropriate conversation for the research at hand. The selected conversation is one which takes place within a Marxian and post-Marxian tradition. This conversation is selected as the Marxian grounding is judged to be the most appropriate for a study of the commodification of labour and also because it can

accommodate post-Marxian writers who theorised commodification as it specifically related to music, such as Attali, Baudrillard, Bourdieu and Adorno (the limitations of this selection and the basis for excluding certain influential writers are discussed in section 7.2).

A core concept to this conversation is an understanding that music and commerce can be regarded antithetically. In chapter five a historical socio-cultural review of the process through which this ontology came to be is undertaken but for now it is necessary to ask why this dialectic exists and what form it takes.

In addressing this concern the research turns to the writings of Theodor Adorno, the critic of the role of music during modernity. In his article, *Culture and Administration* (Adorno, 2002d), Adorno argued the case for culture and administration to be viewed within a dialectic:

> Culture would like to be higher and more pure, something untouchable which cannot be tailored according to any tactical or technical considerations. In educated language, this line of thought makes reference to the autonomy of culture... Culture is viewed as the manifestation of pure humanity without regard for its functional relationship within society. In spite of its self-righteous assonance, the word 'culture' cannot be avoided; this proves to what a degree the category, correctly criticised hundreds of times, is both fitting for and dedicated to the world as it is – namely to the administered world. Nonetheless, no half-way sensitive person can overcome the discomfort conditioned by the consciousness of a culture which is indeed administered. (pp108)

If culture is to be understood in this way, as a 'manifestation of pure humanity without regard for its functional relationship within society', then how can we understand the role of music within the consumer society? In response Adorno developed his negative dialectic in which the relationship between antitheses was described as being subsumed

by the logic of domination. In considering the role of music within the consumer society, the question must be asked, is music a commodity? If so, is it interchangeable with other commodities within the exchange process? Is it to be differentiated from other commodities simply according to a supposed sign value which it may have? This chapter addresses the theory of the commodity and considers it in relation to the musical object. In introducing the notion of the commodity in exchange, the literature review starts with the theory of Karl Marx.

1.3 Karl Marx

Marx (1974) defines a commodity as, 'in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another' (pp43).

According to Marx, a commodity has a utility value which he defines as:

> ...not a thing of air. Being limited by the physical properties of the commodity, it has no existence apart from that commodity. A commodity, such as iron, corn, or a diamond, is therefore, so far as it is a material thing, a use-value, something useful... The use-values of commodities furnish the material for a special study, that of the commercial knowledge of commodities. Use-values become a reality only by use or consumption: they also constitute the substance of all wealth, whatever may be the social form of that wealth'. (pp44)

As well as a utility value, Marx described commodities as carrying an exchange value which presented itself as a 'quantitative relation, as the proportion in which values in use of one sort are exchanged for those of another sort, a relation constantly changing with time and place. Hence exchange-value appears to be relative and consequently an intrinsic value i.e., an exchange-value that is inseparably connected with something inherent in commodities seems a contradiction in terms' (pp44). Marx described the

abstract process through which commodities arrived at an exchange value, for example he wrote about how the utility value of linen comes to have exchange value in the form of a coat; 'in this relation (coat and linen), the coat is the mode of existence of value, is value embodied, for only as such it is the same as the linen. On the other hand, the linen's own value comes to the front, receives independent expression, for it is only as being value that it is comparable with the coat as a thing of equal value, or exchangeable with the coat' (pp54). The matter becomes further complicated in that within the money process, the exchange value of the coat becomes comparable to the exchange value of gold, no matter how unnatural this comparison may seem. Therefore, the exchange value represents an abstraction of the utility value and as commodities come to gain exchange value relative to other exchange values of commodities, the abstraction becomes increasingly alienated from utility value.

A second element of exchange value described by Marx (1974) is that all commodities are 'definite masses of congealed labour-time' (pp47) because through consumption of commodities we 'put out of sight' (pp46) the human labour gone into production. The outcome is that the total labour-power of society, embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts as 'one homogenous mass of labour-power, composed though it be of innumerable individual units, each of these units is the same as any other' (pp46). In other words the human labour contained in the production of a commodity is *reified*. The process which Marx described was one in which the labourer became alienated from his own production through the sale of his labour-power to a capitalist. The alienation is increased because the value of that work exists in the

abstract and because the labour-power is realised in a product that does not belong to him – hence Marx was describing a social relationship built upon alienation, reification, exploitation and domination.

Alienation, then, can be taken as denoting the estrangement of individuals from themselves and others which is rooted in social structures denying people their social essence realised through labour – with labour taken to be a creative activity carried out in co-operation with others by which people transformed the world outside themselves. Abercrombie et al (2000:pp12) divide Marx's concept of alienation into four particular manifestations:

1. The worker is alienated from the product of his labour, since what he produces is appropriated by others and he has no control over its fate.

2. The worker is alienated from the act of production. Working becomes an alien activity that offers no intrinsic satisfaction, that is forced on the workers by external constraints and ceases to be an end in itself, and that involves working at someone else's bidding as labour. Work in fact becomes a commodity that is sold and its only value to the worker is its saleability.

3. The worker is alienated from his human nature or his 'species being', because the first two aspects of alienation deprive his productive activity and thus define human nature.

4. The worker is alienated from other people, since capitalism transforms social relations into market relations, and people are judged by their position in the market rather than by their human qualities. People come to regard each other as reifications rather than as individuals.

Marx (1974) warned against considering a commodity to be a simple thing, rather it is 'a very queer thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties' (pp76). For example, he argued that once wood became turned into a table, it would transcend its

very tableness; 'it not only stands with its feet on the ground, but, in relation to all other commodities, it stands on its head, and evolves out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas, far more wonderful that "table-turning" ever was' (pp76). This is the process of the fetishisation of commodities. This fetishisation in turn became a source of social ordering. For example, just as gold comes to be granted a higher exchange value than linen, so too the value of the labour that produces gold products becomes increased relative to the value of the labour that produces coats, hence the collective value of society becomes defined in accordance to exchange value abstraction. For Marx this was a very 'absurd form' (pp80) of society indeed. Within this context the fetishisation of commodities came to define the value of people resulting in the personification of the economic relations that exist between one another. As Marx put it; 'the persons exist for one another merely as representatives of, and therefore, as owners of commodities' (pp89). Therefore, the question that Marx believed should be asked of society was, why should labour be represented by the exchange value of its product and labour-time by the magnitude of that value?

An important element of Marx's critique is how this system of domination where the worker is transformed by the capitalist into a wage-labourer who serves the capitalist system is reproduced within capitalism. The wage-labourer's money becomes the means towards his own subsistence which in turn becomes an incident of production, 'in such a case, he supplies himself with necessaries in order to maintain his labour-power, just as coal and water are supplied to the steam-engine and oil to the wheel' (pp535). In other words, Marx describes a capitalist system of reproduction whereby the wage-labourers'

own consumption are also the means of reproducing the mode of production, i.e. individual consumption is directly productive consumption. This Marxian approach problematises the division between consumption and production activities and brings us to a conceptualisation of the life of the wage-labourer as completely dominated by the capitalist mode of production.

1.4 Culture as Exchange Value

1.4.1 Adorno & Horkheimer

Adorno & Horkheimer can be described as post-Marxists as they re-contextualised Marxian theory for a new era (Steinert, 2003). Hence many of the phenomena described by Karl Marx, such as the processes of commodification, reification, domination, alienation and exploitation became integrated into their account of modernity, which they applied to their study of cultural production and consumption.

1.4.1.1 What is Culture Industry?

In a subsequent article to *The Dialectic of the Enlightenment* entitled *Culture Industry Reconsidered* (Adorno, 2002b), Adorno explains how the title 'Culture Industry' was arrived at deliberately in order to avoid the term 'mass culture' so to exclude the interpretation that culture arises spontaneously from the masses themselves. Culture industry, rather, refers to the process through which culture takes the form of an imposed canon produced and disseminated under conditions that reflect the interests of the producers and the exigencies of the market, both of which demand the domination and manipulation of mass consciousness (pp2). Steinert (2003) encourages us to consider

two separate forms of culture industry which Adorno & Horkheimer distinguished between through the use of the definite article, a practice that failed to survive the translation from German to English but is used as a convention in this dissertation notwithstanding:

- In the first instance 'Culture Industry' (hereinafter referred to as 'culture industry') refers to the commodity production as the principle of a specific form of cultural production (pp9).
- Second, *the* Culture Industry (hereinafter referred to as 'the culture industry') refers to a specific branch of production comprising of film studios, record labels, printing presses, television stations and other such factories for cultural goods (pp9).

Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) noted that the true task undertaken in the *Dialectic of the Enlightenment* was the discovery of 'why mankind, instead of entering into a truly human condition, is sinking into a new kind of barbarism' (pp xi) and it is this notion of regression within progression (the dialectic of the enlightenment) that typifies Adorno's oeuvre.

Despite the extreme conditions, which existed at the time Adorno & Horkheimer wrote their text, this thesis encourages the reader to consider their contribution as still relevant both geographically and temporally in existing conditions. In order to understand this claim, it is important to locate the *Dialectic of the Enlightenment* historically. As exiled German non-Aryans and post-Marxists watching with horror the emerging accounts of the Holocaust, the 'new kind of barbarism' refers to an extreme period in history. Having eventually fled Germany following the decision of the Nazis to close the Institute for Social Research in 1933 and having been stripped of their academic credentials because

they expressed 'tendencies hostile to the state', the Frankfurt Institute (of which both Adorno & Horkheimer were members) was re-located to New York and eventually to California. One member of the Institute who was slow to move into exile, Walter Benjamin, was forced to live on the run and ultimately, fearing capture by the Gestapo, committed suicide in Spain, an incident that apparently left a lasting impression on the shocked Adorno (Rubin, 2003).

It is important to note that the sense of outrage and distress that permeates the *Dialectic of the Enlightenment* was not limited to their views of life in Germany. Exile in the USA may have protected the authors from the Nazis but they were still concerned with what they saw in their new country (Rubin, 2003). The Government of the USA shared many of the concerns of the Nazis regarding the existence of a group of Marxists in their country and kept a close eye upon the re-located Institute of Social Research. According to a recent publication by Rubin (2003), the members of the institute were the object of a widespread surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Adorno & Horkheimer had to endure their mail and telegrams being opened and read, their telephones being wiretapped, their apartments burgled, their private affairs scrutinised and their income taxes audited as well as being branded by FBI director and future USA President Edgar J. Hoover as "Communazis" (pp173). For this reason when writing the *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*, Adorno & Horkheimer took care to conceal any reference to Marxism with the term 'capitalism' replaced by 'existing conditions' and 'class society' by 'domination' and 'order' throughout the text (pp174).

Within that context Berman (2003) encourages us to consider the *Dialectic of the Enlightenment* as an interpretation not just from Germany onto the USA, but also from fascism to consumerism as both were marked by an expansive state and culture industry appeared to have absorbed all significant opposition into a totally administered society. This interpretation encourages us to abandon the conventionally held binary opposition of Germany, seen as the representation of mythic irrationality, and the USA, as standing for reason and democracy. Instead a central argument regarding the history of enlightenment purported by Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) was the radical political claim of the comparability of Nazi Germany and the USA in terms of state capitalism (pp116). Therefore, the text ought not to be regarded as being limited to the Third Reich but to the Western World in general.

With regards to the temporal location of the research, it is worth mentioning that in their preface to the 1969 edition of the text (shortly before Adorno's death), Adorno & Horkheimer stated that despite the collapse of European fascism, 'the sinister trend (of totalitarianism) continues' (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1998:pp ix). As Bernstein recently noted, despite the fact that Adorno's work was temporally contextualised to an extreme period of history, 'it does not follow that his critical diagnosis of the predicament of culture is not applicable to the present' (Bernstein, 2002:pp2). Indeed the recent spate of publications concerning Adorno (Adorno, 2002e; Bernstein, 2002; Bradshaw et al., 2004; De Nora, 2003; Gibson and Rubin, 2002; Jager, 2004) attest to the **relevance of his** theory, both solo and in collaboration with Horkheimer, to more contemporary affairs.

1.4.1.2. Commodification of Culture

A common criticism of Adorno & Horkheimer's treatise on culture industry is that it is an elitist text. However as Huyssen (2003) identifies, this is usually based on a shoddy reading of the material. A defining point of Adorno's extensive writing is his refusal to treat high and low art differently. Therefore, an important contribution of their text is that they took all forms of art and culture very seriously. As Adorno himself wrote in a letter to Benjamin (cited in Bernstein, 2002:pp2): 'both high and industrially produced art bear the stigmata of capitalism, both contain elements of change. Both are torn halves of an integral freedom, to which, however, they do not add up'. Whilst they did not acknowledge all art as being of equal value, they insisted on subjecting all forms of art to the same methodological questions; thereby treating what might be considered as trivial art, seriously.

Adorno & Horkheimer's (1998) critique of culture industry then is not an elitist critique of low brow culture, but rather of the commodification of cultural artefacts. According to the authors, art exists within culture industry processes and does so completely as a commodity; it is 'produced for the market and aimed at the market' (pp38). Whilst they accept that this in itself is nothing new, culture industry art now 'renounces its own autonomy and proudly takes its place among consumption goods' (pp157). They described an insistence within capitalism that art should be disposable in terms of money and this leads to the fetishisation of art, as Adorno wrote (2002a) 'the consumer is really worshipping the money that he himself has paid for the ticket to the Toscanini concert. He has not 'made it by liking the concert, but rather by buying the ticket' (pp38). It is this

appearance of consuming culture, Adorno argues, which alone gives cultural goods their deceitful exchange value:

> If the commodity in general combines exchange value and use value, then the pure use value, whose illusion the cultural goods must persevere in a completely capitalist society, must be replaced by pure exchange value, which precisely in its capacity as exchange value deceptively takes over the function of the use value. (pp38-39)

Adorno was describing a process in which the listener becomes completely alienated from the musical object itself – the use value of the music being eliminated by this process - and instead the music is subject to the law of exchange. He argued that this changed the relationship between music and society and that the more inexorably the principle of exchange dominates, the more deeply it establishes itself as the object of enjoyment. According to Adorno this is exactly the process which provides the cement 'which still holds the world of commodities together' (pp39).

Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) believed that as this transfer moved towards absolute, a shift in the internal structure of cultural commodities begins to emerge, manifesting itself in the dominance of the 'style' of artistic production typically at the expense of substance and this, they argued is 'the aesthetic equivalent of domination' (pp130). Culture industry therefore represents the negation of artistic spirit. All that remains is for artistic producers to focus on style, which means reproducing art that is similar to what already exists yet holding minor discrepancies. As the authors wrote, 'it calls for Mickey Rooney in preference to the tragic Garbo, for Donald Duck instead of Betty Boop' (pp134). The domination of style in artistic production, which is the hallmark of culture industry, results in art becoming completely obedient to the social hierarchy, which Adorno &

Horkheimer argued, art is supposed to rebel against. Culture industry art, therefore, is a *deception*; 'the work of art, by completely assimilating itself to need, deceitfully deprives men of precisely that liberation from the principle of utility which it should inaugurate' (pp158). In culture industry, art promises opposition but only delivers conformity through its commodity form.

Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) demonstrate this process of offer and denial in culture industry pornography. Here viewers are presented with sexuality but simultaneously denied sexual fulfilment and hence the audience is repressed:

> By repeatedly exposing the objects of desire, breasts in a clinging sweater or the naked torso of the athletic hero, it only stimulates the unsublimated forepleasure which habitual deprivation has long since reduced to a masochistic semblance. There is no erotic situation which, while insinuating and exciting, does not fail to indicate unmistakably that things can never go that far. (pp140)

As well as promoting alienation and 'self-instrumentalisation' (Steinert pp36), the consequence of such pornography is, as they put it, that 'the diner must be satisfied with the menu' (pp139) and the consumer is cheated of what is promised and receives merely pseudo-satisfaction. This, for Adorno & Horkheimer, represents the ultimate secret of aesthetic sublimation; fulfilment is represented as a broken promise and this becomes part of the logic of repression and reification. As Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) identify, the same principle lies at the heart of the consumer society itself:

> The principle dictates that he should be shown all his needs as capable of fulfilment, but that those needs should be so pre-determined that he feels himself to be the eternal consumer, the object of the consumer industry. Not only does it make him believe that the deception it practises is satisfaction, but it goes further and implies that, whatever the state of affairs, he must put up with what is offered. (pp142)

In this sense the freedom offered by the liberal economic capitalist monopoly is a pseudo-freedom in which people are very much integrated into a capitalist mode of production. It is the freedom, according to Adorno & Horkheimer (1998), for the stupid to starve (pp138).

This returns the literature review to the Marxian concept of reification, a process which Adorno & Horkheimer saw as being central to culture industry process. For example, they show how a constant theme running through Hollywood films is the rehabilitation of deviants to the conforming masses. In this sense the purpose of slapstick comedy is to train viewers to accept the punishment of protagonists who become the worthless object of general violence; 'Donald Duck in the cartoons and unfortunates in real life get their thrashing so that the audience can learn to take their own punishment' (pp138). The message therefore is that individual resistance will be broken and that the ideology of the culture industry is that conformity replaces consciousness.

In this sense reification is achieved through pseudo-individualisation. In the same way that style replaces substance, the individual too now only exists in the commodity form and amounts to no more than the reproduction of models set by culture industry, only differentiated by the existence of style which merely amounts to 'the moustache, the French accent, the deep voice of the woman of the world, the Lubitsch touch: finger prints on identity cards which otherwise are exactly the same, and into which the lives and faces of every single person are transformed by the power of the generality' (Adorno

& Horkheimer, 1998:pp154). In such a reified existence, the only outcome facing the individual is to pursue one's own particular purpose as defined by the capitalist system:

> The bourgeois whose existence is split into a business and a private life, whose private life is split into keeping up his public image and intimacy, whose intimacy is split into the surly partnership of marriage and the bitter comfort of being quite alone, at odds with himself and everybody else, is already virtually a Nazi, replete both with enthusiasm and abuse, or a modern city-dweller: that is, as being in social contact with others with whom he has no inward contact. (pp155)

A reified audience is hence an alienated and malleable audience who can be deceived into pseudo-pleasures offered by the culture industry which integrates them even further into reification. The world, which Adorno & Horkheimer describe, is a world where culture industry operates as a tool of domination and it is through these processes that the authors sought to account for the rise of fascism and anti-Semitism in their home country. This interpretation of German culture was transferred and applied to the culture of the USA and the radio broadcasts of the Führer were directly compared to the mass radio broadcasts of the 1940s in the USA.

A defining point of culture industry theory is that the utility form of music is stressed as being in dialectical conflict with culture industry processes which tend to push music towards an exchange value. Therefore, an important component of this thought is that music *does* have a utility value, albeit one which is re-directed by culture industry. An important counter-point to this position is provided by the French theorist, Pierre Bourdieu and is considered in the following section.

1.4.2 Bourdieu

According to Adorno & Horkheimer (1998), culture industry includes a process whereby the exchange value of culture dominates the utility value. A further grand theorist who addressed this dynamic was Pierre Bourdieu whose text *Distinctions* (1984) illustrates how French society consumed cultural artefacts by entirely relating cultural products and their consumption to the social conditions of existence. That Bourdieu's work can be understood beyond French society is evidenced by Holt's research which shows that Bourdieu's theory can be used to understand contemporary consumption in the USA (Holt, 1998). An advantage of Bourdieu's work over Adorno & Horkheimer's may be that he supports his claims with reference to a large bank of supporting empirical research and therefore, his work can make an important contribution to evaluating the work of Adorno & Horkheimer.

A core foundation of Bourdieu's work is his concept of cultural capital; a view that holds that there is an economy of cultural goods with a specific logic and therein corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers, which predisposes tastes to functions as markers of class. This approach clashes with Adorno (2002d) who argued that culture can be understood antithetically with regards to administration, though within culture industry the antithesis is rendered impossible. Instead Bourdieu (1994) challenges this 'aristocracy of culture' (pp11) and in so doing deconstructs the power relations behind the German intellectual platform from which Adorno & Horkheimer viewed the world. According to Bourdieu (based on his reading of Elias) the German intelligentsia, especially in

universities, established itself in opposition to the styles and forms of civilisation developed in German court culture and French society. The German model thus defined its vision of high society in the antithesis between 'Civilisation', characterised by frivolity and superficiality, and 'Culture', defined by seriousness, profundity and authenticity (pp74). The German intellectual tradition (to which we can see clearly see that Adorno & Horkheimer proudly belonged) is interpreted by Bourdieu as those who sought to assert their autonomy by asserting their own virtues and their own manner of practising them, thereby devaluing high-society virtues (pp74). Bourdieu argues that the pursuit of culture offers the perfect site for this type of class distinction.

This interpretation of the role of culture in society moves beyond an Adornian dialectic of the exchange value of music. Just as Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) described how in place of enjoyment of art for its own sake, there is the prestige of gallery-visits and factual knowledge; the prestige seeker replacing the connoisseur, Bourdieu (1984) made the following remark:

> In the ordinary situations of bourgeois life, banalities about art, literature or cinema are inseparable from the steady tone, the slow, casual diction, the distant or self-assured smile, the measured gesture, the well-tailored suit and the bourgeois salon of the person who pronounces them. (pp174)

The only opposition that can be allowed for within Bourdieu's conception of art is that which reproduces class distinction. Hence art can be divided between what holders of cultural capital (for example education about the arts) regard as distinguished and art which they regard as vulgar. For example, Bourdieu shows that those who hold economic capital tend towards art, which denies the social world and tends towards a 'hedonistic aesthetic of ease and facility' (pp176) symbolised by boulevard theatre or Impressionist

painting. Meanwhile those who hold cultural capital are more likely to gravitate towards a more 'ascetic aspect of aesthetics and are inclined to support all artistic revolutions conducted in the name of purity and purification, refusal of ostentation and bourgeois taste for ornament; and the dispositions towards the social world which they owe to their status as part relations incline them to welcome a pessimistic representation of the social world'. (pp176)

The condemnation of the fetish character in music and the regressive music listening habits typical of Adorno's writings (see 2002a) could be analysed in what Bourdieu (1984) referred to as class racism. In this case the holders of cultural and economic capital look with contempt at the consumption habits of those they regard as beneath them:

> Not content with lacking virtually all the knowledge or manners which are valued in the markets of academic examination or polite conversation nor with only possessing skills which have no value there, they are the people 'who don't know how to live', who sacrifice most to material foods, and to the heaviest, grossest and most fattening of them, bread, potatoes, fats and most vulgar, such as wine; who spend least on clothing and cosmetics, appearance and beauty those who 'don't know how to relax', 'who always have to be doing something', who set off in their Renault 5 or Simca 1000 to join the traffic jams of the holiday exodus, who picnic beside major roads, cram their tents into overcrowded campsites, fling themselves into the prefabricated leisure activities designed for them by the engineers of cultural mass production; those who by all these uninspired 'choices' confirm class racism, if it needed to be confirmed in its conviction that they only get what they deserve. (pp179)

In this critical perspective the different consumer behaviour of those who consume what is regarded to be authentic culture can be accounted for by their habitus – defined by Bourdieu as the 'internalised form of class condition and of the conditionings it entails' (pp101). As music can only be understood in terms of its exchange value, the only

purpose of 'higher' culture is to distinguish the consumers from other social classes. Applying this logic, the writings of Adorno & Horkheimer can be understood as class racism because they are critical of these consumption habits instead favouring cultural consumption which is more indicative of their class.

Classes	Educational qualification	Singers Guétary	P.Clark	Brassens	Ferré	Music Blue Danube	Sabre Dance	Well-Tempered Clavier	Concerto for Left Hand
Working	None, CEO, CAP	33	31	38	20	65	28	1	0
	BEPC and above	17	17	61	22	62.5	12.5	0	0
Middle	None, CEP, CAP	23	29	41	21	64	26	1.5	1.5
	BEPC and above	12.5	19	47.5	39	27	16	8	4
	BEPC, bac	12	21	46.5	39	31	17.5	5	4
	Higher education	17	9	54	39	3	5	21	4
Upper	None, CEP, CAP	16	44	36	12	17	21	8	8
	BEPC and above	5	17	74	35	16	8	15	13
	BEPC, bac	8.5	24	65	29	14	11	3	6
	Higher education	4	14.5	77	39	16.5	7	19	15
	Technical college	5	20	73.5	32	19.5	5.5	10	18
	Licence	4.5	17	73	34.5	17	9.5	29.5	12
	Agrég., grande école	0	3	90	49.5	11.5	3	29.5	12

Table 1 (Bourdieu, 1984) Class preference for singers and music

Note the table (e.g. first row) is read as follows: out of every 100 working-class respondents with either no qualification, a CEO, BEPC or a CAP, 33 choose Guétary and 31 Petula Clark among their three favourite singers (from a list of 12); 65 choose the *Blue Danube* and 28 the *Sabre Dance* among their three favourite works of music (from a list of 16).

Table 1 illustrates some of the empirical research undertaken by Bourdieu in order to support his claims regarding habitus. The respondents are categorised relative to their profession (marker of economic capital) and their French educational awards (marker of

cultural capital). The table shows how the closer one moves towards more supposedly legitimate forms of music, the more the differences in educational capital are associated with major differences. Thus Bourdieu opposes the *Well Tempered Clavier* and the *Concerto for the Left Hand* (which Bourdieu distinguishes by the modes of acquisition and consumption which they presuppose) with the *Blue Danube* and the *Sabre Dance* piece which he takes to be devalued either by belonging to a lower genre (light music) or by their popularisation. Similarly Bourdieu takes Georges Brassens and Léo Ferré (high value) to be opposed to Georges Guétary and Petula Clark (low value), again corresponding to differences in educational capital.

The contribution of Bourdieu to the conversation is to show how smoothly music and culture operate in society at the level of exchange value. Viewed through this lens, music has no utility value but rather carries only exchange value as the musical text itself becomes alienated from its consumption and preference is a function of the amount of culture capital held. Subsequent writers have sought to theorise beyond an exchange value and take culture into the domain of the sign, and here the French philosophers Jean Baudrillard and Roland Barthes have made important contributions.

1.4.3 Baudrillard & Barthes

The French philosopher Jean Baudrillard (1998) has argued that the transcendence of commodities from utility to exchange value is further complicated by the transfer from exchange value to *sign* value. The key to understanding sign value is that objects are not to be considered in isolation but rather vessels of communication, all evoking, echoing

and offsetting one another. As the goods refer to other myths and images, they create what Baudrillard (1998) described as a 'psychological chain reaction' (pp26) in the buyer as they start to view all these combining elements as a *total category:*

> Few objects today are offered alone, without a context of objects which 'speaks' them. And this changes the consumer's relation to the object, he no longer relates to a particular object in its specific utility, but to a set of objects in its total signification. Washing machine, refrigerator and dishwasher taken together have a different meaning from the one each has individually as an appliance. The shop-window, the advertisement, the manufacturer and the brand name, which here plays a crucial role, impose a coherent, collective vision, as though they were an almost indissociable totality, a series. This is, then, no longer a sequence of mere objects, but a chain of signifiers, in so far as all these signify one another reciprocally as part of a more complex super-object, drawing the consumer into a series of more complex motivations. (pp27)

The 'chain of signifiers' that Baudrillard describes differs from what he called the simple profusion of commodities whereby consumption takes place in an archaic manner. Rather this economy of the sign establishes inertial constraints in the consumer who logically moves from one object to another; 'he will be caught up in a calculus of objects' (pp27).

Through use of the sign value, goods can become completely isolated from their utility value as their meanings can take on endless propagations. In this sense Baudrillard (1998) describes a communication network which is ultimately meaningless, carrying freely floating signification alienated from the original utility form. Where Marx (1974) described a process whereby people defined their social existence in accordance with the exchange value of their labour, in Baudrillard's (1998) world view, it is only possible to 'affiliate to a model, to label oneself by reference to an abstract model, to a combinatorial pattern of fashion, and therefore to relinquish any real difference, any singularity, since these can only arise in concrete, conflictual relations with others and the world' (pp88).

This is a process which he described as 'the miracle and the tragedy of dedifferentiation' (pp88). It is a process which can be compared to Adorno & Horkheimer's (1998) concept of pseudo-individualisation. Just as Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) described a process where the style replaced the substance of the individual, where they differ from Baudrillard (1998) is that the reified person that they describe has been shaped in accordance with the dominant capitalist mode of production and the will towards reification, whereas Baudrillard describes a process whereby people mark their 'conformity with a code, his integration into a sliding scale of things' (pp88). It is, according to Baudrillard, an absurd formula whereby monopoly and differentiation are locked together where differentiation is only possible by conforming to a sign value.

The perplexing notion of the freely floating signifier can be accounted for in Barthes' (1993) treatment of how mythologies are propagated in society. In his system of mythologies, represented in the table below, there is a second order semiological system which constructs a myth from a previously existing sign; in other words that which is a sign in the first system becomes a mere signifier in the second. As long as discourse refers to myth, the original signs become reduced to a raw material for a new signification. The impact of mythology is, according to Barthes (1993), a creation of a *metalanguage* in which the semiologist 'no longer needs to ask himself questions about the composition of the language object, he no longer has to take into account the details of the linguistic schema; he will only need to know its total term, or global sign, and only in as much as this term lends itself to myth' (pp115).

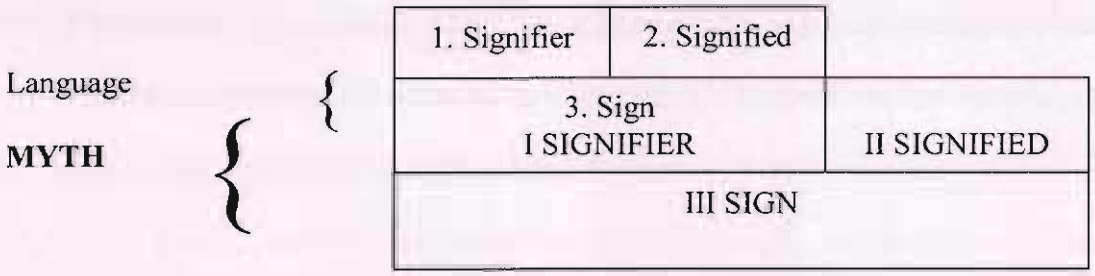

Figure 4 Barthes (1973) How Mythologies are Propagated

Barthes (1993) provides an example of a photograph on the front cover of the magazine *Paris-March* which shows a young Negro in a French uniform saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on the French tricolour. Barthes describes the signification as: 'France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors' (pp116). Therefore, Barthes describes a greater semiological system in which there is a signifier, itself already formed with a previous system (a black soldier is giving the French salute); there is a signified (it is here a purposeful mixture of Frenchness and militariness); finally there is a presence of the signified through the signifier.

Barthes's system of mythology can help us to understand Baudrillard's 'chain of signifiers'. In a similar vain to Barthes' second order of signification, Baudrillard (1998) spoke of a legendary reference whereby events are repeated; the first time with real historical import and the second 'merely as caricatural evocation of the event, as a

grotesque avatar of it – sustained by a *legendary reference*' (pp99). In other words we can consider cultural consumption at the level of the sign value to be the time and place of the 'caricatural resurrection, the parodic evocation of that which no longer exists' (pp99). Baudrillard provides the example of the rediscovery of nature; 'in the form of a countryside trimmed down to the dimensions of a mere sample, surrounded on all sides by the vast fabric of the city, carefully policed, and served up 'at room temperature' as parkland, nature reserve or background scenery for second homes, is, in fact, a recycling of nature' (pp101).

According to Baudrillard (1998) this principle of cultural recycling dominates cultural consumption. In this sense the utility value of culture itself becomes a side issue to the sign value as culture is 'condemned to be merely an ephemeral sign because it is produced, deliberately or otherwise, in what is today the universal dimension of production: the dimension of the cycle and recycling' (pp102). Just as Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) described the consumers of art as alienated from the utility value of art itself, Baudrillard describes the pseudo-activity of readers of glossy magazines:

> Naturally, most readers of these mass-circulation publications, which are the vehicles of a 'middle-brow' culture, will claim in good faith that they are concerned with their content and that their aim is knowledge. But this cultural 'use-value', this objective goal, is largely over-determined by the sociological 'exchange-value'. It is that demand, indexed to increasingly intense status competition, which is met by the vast 'culturised' material of periodicals, encyclopaedias, and paperback editions. All this cultural substance may be said to be 'consumed', in so far as its content does not sustain an autonomous practice, but a rhetoric of social mobility, and insofar as it meets a demand which has *something other than culture* as its object or, rather seeks culture only as a *coded element of social status.* There is here an inversion, and the strictly cultural content appears only as connotation, as a secondary function. (pp102)

In this way Baudrillard describes the role of culture in society as a hierarchically superior object of consumption which, in the chain of signifiers, is interchangeable with other consumption objects, [he makes the typical Baudrillardian provocation that there is no longer any difference between a delicatessen and an art gallery, between Playboy and a treatise on palaeontology (pp29)]. According to Baudrillard, this is an inversion of the intended role of culture which he takes to be:

1. an inherited legacy of works, thought and tradition
2. a continuous dimension of theoretical and critical reflection – critical transcendence and symbolic function. (pp101)

The problem of the reception of culture in society, then, is not linked to cultural contents nor indeed the audience for culture or what Baudrillard (1998) considers to be the false problem of the 'vulgarisation of art and culture to which both the practitioners of 'aristocratic' culture and champions of 'mass' culture fall prey' (pp101). Rather the problem is one of culture being 'condemned to be merely an ephemeral sign because it is produced, deliberately or otherwise, in what is today the universal dimension of production' (pp101).

The existence of art within culture recycling where the utility value of the art itself becomes alienated through consumption, as described by Baudrillard, constitutes an inversion of the role of art in society and the strictly cultural content appears only as connotation, as a secondary function. Again Baudrillard is describing a process whereby society becomes alienated from the utility value of art through the exchange process.

1.4.4 Reflections on the Exchange and Sign Value of Music

So far readings of Adorno & Horkheimer, Adorno's solo writings, Bourdieu, Barthes and Baudrillard based on Marxian premises of utility versus exchange, produce an ontology of art functioning in society where the use value of art itself has become alienated and instead art functions at the level of exchange, and beyond that towards an ultimately meaningless and ephemeral sign value. The significance of this phenomenon has been presented by Adorno & Horkheimer who believe that the failure of art to exist at the level of utility value is something which contributes towards an overall push towards reification and domination and therefore is a regression of enlightenment principles. Thus far the conversation between the theorists has provided us with reasons for pessimism. However implicit within this pessimism is an optimism that the utility value of music holds some form of hope of sanctuary away from what Adorno describes as the 'advancing brutality' (Adorno, 2002a:pp55) of a reified society. At this stage of the research it is important to consider how exactly this use value of art and more specifically music operates in society.

1.5 Music as Utility Value

1.5.1 Bataille and Material Utility

Georges Bataille (1997) addressed what he considered to be the insufficiency of the principle of utility. He noted how discussions on the fundamental value of the word 'useful' – which he took to be an essential question touching on the life of human societies – tended to be 'necessarily warped' (pp167) with the core question eluded.

Given the divergent range of present ideas, the process of defining what is useful to humanity is rendered, he wrote, problematic. There are the difficulties in locating concepts 'which one would like to situate beyond utility and pleasure': for example *honour* and *duty* which Bataille saw as being hypocritically employed in the schemes of pecuniary interest.

By way of addressing this 'intellectual disarray' (pp167), Bataille sought to differentiate between *classical utility* and *material utility*. Material utility refers to pleasure – 'but only in a moderate form, since violent pleasure is seen as pathological' (pp167) - and is limited to acquisition (production) and the conservation of goods and also to the reproduction and conservation of human life. Material utility, for Bataille, represents an 'untenable conception of existence' (pp167) which implies that any individual effort (with the exception of reproduction) must be reducible to the fundamental necessities of production and conservation. Within material utility, art alongside other pleasures such as debauchery and play is reduced to a diversion and subsidiary role, whilst the most appreciable share of life is given as the condition of productive social activity. This chapter shall further review the conflicting notion of classical utility, but for now it is important to note that within Bataille's conception of material utility, the pursuit of art and culture remains a marginalised activity.

1.5.2 Marx's Production and Consumption Nexus

This section now returns to Marx who argued that what is regarded as consumption activity is that which reproduces the dominant order of production. This division between

consumption and production can therefore be problematised as consumption activity becomes constituted as a function of production. Firat (2000) notices the inherent inconsistencies within such a perspective, for example it is the human being for who the whole system is to work for, who is produced in consumption - his mentality and body are produced in what he consumes. However despite these inconsistencies, Firat noted how these constructs have been highly influential in shaping human lives within modernity so much so that humanity has come to serve the economy instead of the economy being in the service of humanity. According to Firat's (2000) Marxian analysis, within these constructs, art has been materialised and commercialised until it has been transformed into an object that acquires permanence to allow economic exchange and speculation through monetary amassment; art becomes detached from being part of life experience and instead enters the domain of *artists* who must 'produce' to make a living (pp289). Within this conceptualisation, we can see art as marginalised from material utility within a (re)productive system and this helps us to understand why art finds it increasingly difficult to exist at a utility level.

1.5.3 Adorno and Free Time

In a similar vein, Adorno (2002g) addressed the dialectical concept of *Free Time.* According to Adorno 'free time is shackled to its opposite' as 'free time' depends on the 'totality of social conditions which continue to hold people under its spell. Neither in their work nor in the consciousness, do people dispose of genuine freedom over themselves' (pp187). Instead what people did in their free time is functionally determined, and whilst they may be 'subjectively convinced that they are acting of their

own free will, this will itself is shaped by the very same forces which they are seeking to escape in their hours without work' (pp188).

In elucidating the problem, Adorno (2000g) provides the example of when people ask him to list his 'hobbies':

> When the illustrated weeklies report on the life of one of those giants of the culture industry, they rarely forego the opportunity to report, with varying degrees of intimacy, on the hobbies of the person in question. I am shocked by the question when I come up against it. I have no hobby. Not that I am the kind of workaholic, who is incapable of doing anything with his life but applying himself industriously to the required task. But, as far as my activities beyond the bounds of my recognised profession are concerned, I take them all, without exception, very seriously. So much so, that I should be horrified by the very idea that they had anything to do with hobbies – preoccupations with which I had become mindlessly infatuated merely in order to kill the time – had I not become hardened by experience to such examples of this widespread, barbarous mentality. Making music, listening to music, reading with all my attention, these activities are part and parcel to my life; to call them hobbies would make a mockery of them. (pp188-189)

Here we can see how music, by being labelled as a 'hobby' becomes a marginal and subsidiary activity, secondary to primary activities which can be accounted for within Bataille's (1997) conception of material utility. Adorno (2000g) noted how the pursuit of hobbies and free time was conducted around activities which are organised for the sake of profit, for example the activity of escaping modernity by escaping to nature has been (re)packaged as a camping holiday. This confirms the paradox of free time; namely 'that human condition which sees itself as the opposite of reification, the oasis of unmediated life within a completely mediated system, has itself been reified just like the rigid distinction between labour and free time' (pp189).

In describing the division between consumption and production, Marx (1974) described consumption activities as the wage-labourer supplying himself with necessaries in order to maintain his labour power, 'just as coal and water are supplied to the steam-engine and oil to the wheel' (Marx, 1974:pp536). Indeed Firat (2000) holds that this Marxian concept of consumption is constructed as an activity that 'has no useful or valuable outcome except to replenish the consumer's energies to prepare him/her for the truly valuable activities in the sphere of reproduction' (pp290). Adorno too considers the institution of free time in such a way:

> On the one hand one should pay attention at work and not be distracted or lark about; wage labour is predicted on this assumption and its laws have been internalised. On the other hand free time must not resemble work in any way whatsoever, in order, presumably, that one can work all the more effectively afterwards. Hence the inanity of many leisure activities... This had its corollary in the subjective, perhaps even well-meaning worries of adults that the children should not overstrain themselves in their free time; not read too much and not stay awake late in the evening. Secretly parents sensed a certain unruliness of mind which was incompatible with the efficient division of human life. Besides the prevalent ethos is suspicious of anything, which has not clearly and unambiguously been assigned to its place. The rigorous bifurcation of life enjoins the same reification, which has now almost completely subjugated free time. (pp190)

Within Adorno's system of thought we can see that all forms of activity which do not contribute to the productive system are to be reified and culture industry becomes a function of this process; hence the production of inane culture and cultural programmes which carries the ideology of conformity. In any case, Adorno, in his personal life, clearly sought to escape this production-consumption nexus and his rejection of 'hobbies' defines this. For Adorno listening to music constituted a different form of consumption behaviour and it is necessary to find a conceptualisation of consumption that allows for

this. In addressing this, it is time to return to Bataille's second conceptualisation of consumption activity, classical utility.

1.5.4 Bataille, Mauss and Expenditure

According to Bataille (1997) human activity is not entirely reducible to processes of production and conservation, and consumption must be divided into two distinct parts. The first instance refers to the 'minimum necessary for the conservation of life and the continuation of individual's productive activity in a given society' (pp169) and is covered by his concept of material utility. The second part is represented by so-called unproductive *expenditures* and within this domain he includes arts alongside luxury, mourning, war, cults, the construction of sumptuary monuments, games, spectacles, perverse sexual activities and 'all those represent activities which, at least in primitive circumstances, have no end beyond themselves' (pp169). In this sense we can distinguish such consumption as for the designation of unproductive forms, from the designation of all the modes of consumption that serve as a means to the end of production. According to Bataille, the emphasis of expenditure should be placed upon consumption activity that result in some form of *loss* and this loss should be as great as possible in order to take on meaning.

In providing examples of expenditure, Bataille notes the popularity of jewels and how one must sacrifice a fortune in order to own a diamond necklace. The notion of sacrifice too in terms of blood wasting of men and animals is mentioned as the production of

sacred things. Competitive games are also listed due to the huge expense incurred for the maintenance of animals, equipment and teams.

In developing this perspective Bataille draws upon the writings of Mauss (1997) who wrote about the *potlatch.* Mauss uses a number of different descriptors for potlatch within his text *The Gift, The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* and the editor of the text, Halls, sought to clarify the definition as follows: 'As elaborated by Mauss, it consists of a festival where goods and services of all kinds are exchanged. Gifts are made and reciprocated with interest. There is a dominant idea of rivalry and competition between the tribe assembled for the festival, coupled occasionally with conspicuous consumption' (pp vi). Mauss developed his comparative method where he studied supposedly archaic societies in specific selected areas: including Polynesia, Melanesia and the American Northwest. He studied their forms of exchange through potlatch – working from the premise that though these gifts appear to be given voluntarily, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily. Typically the potlatch came to be associated with rites of passage, for example marriages and funerals. The potlatch did not include any form of bargaining, but rather there would be considerable gifts of riches, which were offered openly and with the goal of humiliating, defying and obligating a rival. In this sense Mauss was describing a 'total social phenomenon' since it involves legal, economic, moral, religious, aesthetic and other dimensions (pp78). It is a system, Mauss argued, that lay outside the bounds of 'the so-called natural economy, that of utilitarianism' (pp72), it is a system where there 'are the signs of wealth yet the whole of

This can be contrasted to Firat's (2000) Marxian analysis that within the production-consumption nexus, art becomes disengaged from life and the domain of artists:

> What is now usually known as art is not integrated into everyday living as part of life experience, but extracted, divorced or separated from everyday life to be transformed into objects that acquire permanence to allow economic exchange and speculation toward monetary amassment. Now objectified, creative activity, art "works" are not to be experienced as part of everyday living, but admired as objects of gaze; detached, distanced entities to be observed, admired, and ultimately assessed as objects of desire. As such, art is no longer everyone's domain, but the domain of *artists* who must "produce" to make a living. In this modern capitalist system, anything that can have value can do so by and through such objectification, by being detached from daily living, by being imported into the realm of production. (pp289)

Through the writings of Bataille and Mauss we can see that there are consumption activities that fall outside not just Marx's consumption-production nexus, but also the reified world of what Mauss (1997) calls the domain of *homo oeconomicus.* We can theorise that art appears to be caught between these two worlds, of a form of consumption that serves capitalism and also a form of what Bataille (1997) terms *real* expenditure, which is an end in itself. In general we can see that when art is considered as a form of consumption that serves capitalism, the grand theorists are in agreement that humanity loses something important as a consequence.

1.5.5 Attali and Music as Composition

Despite the fact that he claimed it had never been theorised before him, Jacques Attali also considered the notion of music as being an end in itself, though he elaborated far beyond Bataille. Attali (1985) viewed music as carrying not just a didactic function but also a *prophetic* one. Music therefore is a mirror of society as it is and as it *will* be. He argues that the genesis of music lies in the urge to counter the disorder and chaos inherent in everyday noise. Music constitutes an attempt to render power by managing

noise; 'equivalent to the articulation of a space, it indicates the limits of a territory and the way to make oneself heard within it' (pp6). In this sense the existence of music appears in myth as an *affirmation that society is possible;* through the organisation of noise, music carries the promise of reconciliation of people with the social order. Musical order therefore simulates the social order and its dissonances express marginalities whilst the code of music simulates the accepted rules of society (pp29). What is more, the organisation of noise prophesises future social orders. For example, Attali claims that 'the political organisation of the twentieth century is rooted in the political thought of the nineteenth, the latter is almost entirely present in embryonic form in the music of the eighteenth century' (pp4).

For Attali (1985) the musician occupies an unusual role defined by its duality; 'the musician is at the same time within society, which protects, purchases and finances him and outside it, when he threatens it with his visions' (pp11). He argues that the relationship between the musician and non-musician represents one of the very first divisions of labour and social differentiation in the history of humanity; the musician is simultaneously excluded and superhuman (pp12).

Attali (echoing Adorno) elaborates on the use value of music as preceding its entry into the market economy as it contributes to the crystallisation of social organisation in an order. In this it signifies that a society is possible if the imagination of individuals is sublimated. The development of western music towards tonality is understood by Attali to be a movement away from creating a social order towards a form of exchange. Applying this logic Attali argues that the entire history of tonal music 'amounts to an attempt to make people believe in a consensual representation

of the world... In order to stamp upon the spectators the faith that there is a harmony in order. In order to etch in their minds the image of the ultimate social cohesion, achieved through commercial exchange and the progress of rational knowledge' (pp46). In other words by the nineteenth century, Attail saw music as predicting the coming structuring of society in the mass reproduction economy. For Attali the ultimate metaphor was provided by the orchestra:

> The constitution of the orchestra and its organisation are also figures of power in the industrial economy. The musicians – who are anonymous and hierarchically ranked, and in general salaried, productive workers – execute an external algorithm, a "score", which does what its name implies: it allocates their parts. Some among them have a certain degree of freedom, a certain number of escape routes from anonymity. They are the image of programmed labour in our society. Each of them produces only a part of the whole having no value in itself. (pp66)

Attali described the tendency towards *composition* in music where music is 'performed for the musician's own enjoyment, as self-communication, with no other goal than his own pleasure, as something fundamentally outside all communication, as self-transcendence, a solitary, egotistical, non-commercial act' (pp32); simply put it is 'doing solely for the sake of doing' (pp134). For Attali this is a sign of a new political economy whereby the musician is no longer alienated from his own music as he no longer produces with his audience in mind; 'composition thus appears as a negation of the division of roles and labour as constructed by the old codes' (pp135). This form of composition collapses the division between production and consumption because as the music is longer primarily produced for the market, the constructs merge into the same process.

As music is harbinger of social change, the emergence of composition marks the beginning of a new form of engagement. Just as he argues that the development of

harmony in the seventeenth century marked the rise of exchange, for Attali composition prophesises a new social order based on the re-appropriation of labour; 'not the recuperation of the product, but of his labour itself':

> The goal of labour is no longer necessarily communication with an audience, usage by a consumer, even if they remain a possibility in the musical act of composition. The nature of production changes; the music a person likes to hear is not necessarily the same music he likes to play, much less improvise. In composition – the absence of exchange, self-communication, self-knowledge, non-exchange, self-valorisation – labour is not confined within a preset programme. There is a collective questioning of the goal of labour. (pp142)

Attali's contribution is to present music in such a way as that it need not necessarily be constituted by the exchange process.

1.5.6 Adorno and Music as Anti-Commodity

Thus far the conversation has considered the role of culture in society at a general level noting that it may perform some form of necessary social function as real or symbolic expenditure. At this stage it is time for a more specific treatise on how specifically music can perform this role within modernity. In addressing this issue the research returns to the work of Theodor Adorno, himself a trained composer and music critic, who turned his attention towards grand theory (Jager, 2004; Steinert, 2003) and arguably provides the most insightful analysis of how music can perform this function.

In his collaboration with Max Horkheimer (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1998), they defined the principle of idealistic aesthetics as simply 'purposefulness without a purpose' and that this 'reverses the scheme of things to which bourgeois art conforms socially: purposelessness for the purpose declared by the market' (pp158). In a later

text Adorno declared 'works of art – like all precipitates of the objective spirit – are the object itself' (Adorno, 1973:pp131; 2003). In this sense their conceptualisation of idealistic aesthetics stands in agreement with Bataille's (1997) concept of art as real expenditure in that it is the object itself and useless for the purpose of the market. However, Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) wrote that the processes of culture industry were such that this utility of non-utility was being destroyed by the demand for art to be useful within the market context:

> At last, in the demand for entertainment and relaxation, purpose has absorbed the realm of purposelessness. But as the insistence that art should be disposable in terms of money becomes absolute, a shift in the internal structure of cultural commodities begins to show itself. The use which men in this antagonistic society promise themselves from the work of art is itself, to a great extent, that very existence of the useless which is abolished by complete inclusion under use. The work of art, by completely assimilating itself to need, deceitfully deprives men of precisely that liberation from the principle of utility which it should inaugurate. (pp158)

A key term here is 'deceit'; indeed a central aspect of Adorno & Horkheimer's treatise of culture industry was that culture was served as a 'mass deception' in that unless art sought to develop consciousness, it was a deception (pp120). This view of music is very close to Attali's as it regards music as a means of exemplification which demonstrates how the subject or material stands in relation to the social and cognitive totality. In De Nora's (2003:pp12) reader of Adorno, she describes this as music's didactic function:

> The handling of musical material – composition – could provide models of how one might conceive of, and orient to, realities beyond musical ones, how one might 'handle' arrangements elsewhere – in science or in social institutions, for example, so as to preserve, rather than excise, complexity. It was in this sense that musical compositional praxis provided a simulacrum of praxis more generally.

She demonstrates different endings for compositions, for example, a pop song may finish by reasserting the tonic or 'home' key therefore leaving the listener with a sense

of completion and reconciliation or, as in the music of Philip Glass or Steve Reich, it may end abruptly with no foretaste of cessation, which can create an unsettling effect. De Nora suggests that the question of how music fashions closure might be read for what it tells us about other domains in life.

However the question remains, how can music function as a non-commodity? The key to this, according to Adorno was in the form of musical composition rebelling against its own commodity form. In the 1940s when he saw culture industry music as predictable and standardised, Adorno favoured the move towards dissonance as practised amongst the so-called Second Secessions in Vienna, who were led by the composer Schoenberg. As Adorno saw a world in which there was no harmony, consonant music was a deceit whilst dissonant music could awake a consciousness within the listener to the inherent barbarity of society. In this sense the key to music aesthetics could be found in ascetics:

> The seductive power of the charm survives only where the forces of denial are strongest: in the dissonance which rejects belief in the illusion of the existing harmony. The concept of the ascetic is dialectical in music. If asceticism once struck down the claims of the aesthetic in a reactionary way, it has today become the sign of an advanced art: not, to be sure, by an archaicising parsimony of means in which deficiency and poverty are manifested, but by the strict exclusion of all culinary delights which seek to be consumed immediately for their own sake, as if in art the sensory were not the bearer of something intellectual which only shows itself in the whole rather than in the isolated topical moments. Art records negatively just that possibility of happiness which only partially positive anticipation of happiness ruinously confronts today. All 'light' and pleasant art has become illusory and mendacious. What makes its appearance aesthetically in the pleasure categories can no longer give pleasure, and the promise of happiness, once the definition of art, can no longer be found except where the mask has been torn from the countenance of false happiness. (Adorno, 2002a:pp33)

The above quotation, taken from Adorno's (2002a) article *On the Fetish Character in Music and the Regression in Listening* contains a number of important points which

need analysis. First there is the notion that music should have a dialectic of the ascetic and is to be considered in its whole rather than in isolated topical moments. This refers to particular forms of composition, which again are typified in the compositions of Schoenberg. Second, 'light' music as pleasant becomes mendacious, reinforcing the concept of culture as deceit. As culture industry can only deliver false satisfaction, so too Adorno held the pleasures to be found in such music as illusory. In an era marked by the Holocaust, economic injustice and brutality, music that was pleasant to listen to and harmonic must surely have failed in its duty and therefore act as a deception. By contrast the compositions of Schoenberg rebelled against such false happiness by 'refusing to be enjoyed' (pp33).

Adorno further outlined this process in his text *The Philosophy of Modern Music* (1973) in which he sought to elaborate on some of the themes developed in the *Dialectic of the Enlightenment* (1998). In his essay on Schoenberg within that text, he elaborates on this theme of a music that 'refuses to be enjoyed' (2002a:pp33). In fact, Adorno wrote, 'today the only works which really count are those which are no longer works at all' (Adorno, 1973:pp30). Adorno noted how Schoenberg's works were regarded as creating a crisis within music, 'a condition of chaotic fermentation' (pp29) heard as a 'highly cacophonous sound' (pp30) but it was a sound, he wrote, that 'flees from the web of organised culture and its consumers' (pp30). 'Modern music cannot involuntarily involve itself in this struggle without injury to its own consistency', he asserted (pp131) and the only alternative it found was to surrender 'the deception of harmony, a position which has become untenable in the face of a reality rapidly moving towards catastrophe' (pp131). In doing so, Adorno saw modern

music as providing an invaluable service to humanity in helping it to gain a sense of consciousness for the social conditions:

> The shocks of incomprehension, emitted by artistic technique in the age of its meaningless, undergo a sudden change. They illuminate the meaningless world. Modern music sacrifices itself to this effort. It has taken upon itself all the darkness and guilt of the world. Its fortune lies in the perception of misfortune; all of its beauty is in denying itself the illusion of beauty. (1973:pp133)

However, whilst he saw the progress inherent within Schoenberg's music, Adorno saw the opposite in the composition of Stravinsky. Whereas Adorno saw hope for progress in the music of Schoenberg, in Stravinsky he saw a will towards the restoration of music to its responsibility and conformity towards the establishment (pp135). In what Jager (2004) argues to be Adorno's most controversial essays, he launched a hugely critical denouncement of the compositions of Stravinsky:

> His (Stravinsky's) trick – self-preservation through self-annihilation – falls into the behaviourist scheme of the total incorporation of mankind. His music attracts all those who wish to rid themselves of their ego, because it stands in the way of their egoistic interest within the total composition of commanded collectivisation; similarly, his music concurs with a spatially regressive mode of listening. (1973:pp197)

Because Stravinsky's work does not rebel against its own commodity form, Adorno sees it as lending itself to fetishisation and subsumption by the exchange process:

> The work is, of course, lightly coloured by speculation upon those listeners who wish their music to be familiar, but at the same time to be labelled modern. This indicates the willingness inherent in this music to be used as fashionable commercial music – similar to the willingness of surrealism to be used for shop-window decoration. (1973:pp203)

In this sense Adorno introduces the concept of authenticity of art which can be understood in terms of its ability to achieve the wider role of culture as something 'higher and more pure, something untouchable which cannot be tailored according to any tactical or technical considerations' (Adorno, 2002d:pp108). According to

Adorno all great music strives towards this ideal so much so that the ideal defines the concept of 'great music' (Adorno, 1973:pp212). Whilst he saw Stravinsky's music striving towards this lofty ideal, he felt it failed miserably. Schoenberg, however, achieves authenticity by exactly sacrificing the 'illusion of authenticity' (pp213); 'the absolute renunciation of the gesture of authenticity becomes the only indication of the authenticity of the structure' (pp214).

Through Adorno's analysis of the music of Schoenberg and Stravinsky, we can develop a dialectic of the musical commodity. As culture and administration are dialectically locked together, the authenticity of pure culture exists in a mythical form and whilst that authenticity provides an ideal for humanity to rid itself of the logic of reification, it can only achieve this by, ironically, renouncing authenticity itself. This logic provides for a system of rebellion from the reproduction of the constructs of the consumption-production nexus which dominates this phase of modernity. Music can achieve this by entering the exchange process as a commodity which rebels against its own form. In this way music can refuse to take on an exchange value and escape from Baudrillard's chain of signifiers. Whilst the music may not absolutely achieve this goal, at least a certain element of it must be considered as belonging to what Bataille describes as 'real expenditure'.

Finally one writer who was inspired by Adorno's text *The Philosophy of Modern Music* was the novelist Thomas Mann who used this theory to develop his novel *Doctor Faustus,* the story of a composer and parable of the descent of Germany into National Socialism (Mann, 1999). Schoenberg's attempt to deal with what Mann described as the 'desperate situation of art' was projected onto the novel's protagonist

Adrian Leverkühn. In his novel Leverkühn discovers the twelve-note system following a Faustian pact with the Devil. As Mann saw it, the outcome of the situation of the artist at that time was to cast art back into a dark mythological realm that was better considered as a struggle between Heaven and Hell (Jager, 2004). This Faustian concept is further explored in Section 7.4.1.

1.5.7 Baudrillard and Music as the Absolute Commodity

As opposed to Adorno's (1973) idea of rebelling against its own commodity form, Baudrillard suggests that art would be better served embracing its commodity form. In his text *The Consumer Society* (1998), Baudrillard looks to Pop Art as the solution to the problem of art in the exchange value nexus. Noting how pop artists such as Andy Warhol celebrated the concept of both commercialised art and commerce *as* art, Baudrillard asked; 'is pop the form of art contemporaneous with the logic of signs and consumption we are speaking of, or is it merely an effect of fashion, and hence itself a mere object of consumption?' (pp115). His answer was that there was no longer any contradiction between the two; 'we may accept that pop art transposes an object-world, while at the same time simply issuing (by its own logic) in objects pure and simple' (pp115).

According to Baudrillard (1998), as art had become so dominated by the exchange process, the logic of consumption had eliminated the traditional sublime status of artistic representation (such as Adorno's ideal of authentic art). Existing in this way, there was no longer any difference between the object and the image as they both operate as signs: 'whereas all art up to pop art was based on a 'depth' vision of the world, pop regards itself as homogenous with the *immanent order of signs'* (pp115).

The question Baudrillard then poses is does Pop Art constitute an '*art of the non-sacred*'? (pp116)

For Baudrillard the worst thing that art could do is try and deny its own commodity status. For example, he refers to the 'shameful opportunism' of nineteenth century painters who marketed their paintings in terms of its signature yet still sought to have their art regarded as transcendent (Baudrillard, 1998:pp117). In his later text *Fatal Strategies* (1999) Baudrillard argues that when art does try to look for its own rescue, critical denial can only 'be its own derisory and impotent mirror' (pp117) and a move towards dialectic would be merely a nostalgic and pointless exercise. Instead, Baudrillard argues that rather than seeking to outbid the very formal and fetishised abstraction of commodities under the enchantment of exchange value, art should seek to become more commodity than commodity itself, to move even further from its own use-value (pp117). For Baudrillard this was the only radical and modernist solution and by doing this, art could embrace 'all the qualities of shock, strangeness, surprise, disquietude, liquidity, even auto-destruction, the instantaneity and unreality which belong to the commodity – in short everything the work of art should be' (pp117).

Part of this philosophy is a rejection of the 'depressing theory of alienation', which Baudrillard described as having only 'damaging effects on the slack thought of the twentieth century' (pp119). Instead Baudrillard saw in the eruption of the commodity an opportunity for art to respond in a way that would be 'aesthetic and metaphysical, ironical and joyous'. Therefore, the inhumanity of exchange value was to be celebrated and multiplied in an 'ecstatic but kind of ironic orgasm over the indifferent ways of alienation' (pp117).

By the time of his later text *Symbolic Exchange and Death* (Baudrillard, 1993), Baudrillard was provocatively describing the emergence of the order of simulacra which was typified by the end of production:

> Today everything has changed again. Production, the commodity form, labour power, equivalence and surplus-value, which together formed the outline of a quantitative, material and measurable configuration, are now things of the past. (pp9)

Instead of belonging to a capitalist mode, Baudrillard saw the world as belonging to a hyper-capitalist mode based on simulation and the freely floating signifier. With reference again to Barthes (1993) and his second order of signs, Baudrillard notes that the real ultimatum of society lay with reproduction so that production itself no longer held meaning; 'its social finality is lost in the series. Simulacra prevail over history' (Baudrillard, 1993:pp56). This was a move, he argued, that had been long pre-empted by art itself by veering towards the everyday life; 'very early on the work of art produced a double of itself as the manipulation of the signs of art, bringing about an oversignification of art... irreversibly introducing art to the form of the sign' (pp75). Baudrillard was describing as entering into infinite reproduction. In this system the interchangeablity of art with industry allowed its signs to be exchanged, for example Andy Warhol's 'Factory' without art ceasing to be art, since the machine had become nothing but a sign. Therefore art is everywhere; it has lost its critical transcendence and has become inseparable from its own image as art that it no longer takes on the effect of reality. 'So,' Baudrillard concluded in his typical provocative manner, 'art is dead' (pp75).

1.6 Conclusions and Summary

This chapter has attempted to put some of the grand theorists in conversation with each other. This conversation has included the voices of Marx, Adorno, Horkheimer, Bourdieu, Baudrillard, Barthes, Attali, Bataille, Mauss and Firat. The foundation point of this conversation was Marx's vision of a capitalist mode of production in a state of reproduction. Reproduction was in part achieved through an exchange process, which meant distancing the commodity from its utility value and establishing the activities of consumption and production as separate constructs. Within Adorno & Horkheimer's treatment of culture industry, we can see how the Marxian terms of fetishisation, reification and alienation come to organise the domains of cultural production and reception in a way which reproduces the dominant social order of capitalism and reification. Through the work of Bourdieu we caught a glimpse of how culture functions as exchange value and as a means of reproducing class distinction. Baudrillard's system of the sign was introduced to describe the role of culture in society as it started to move away from its utility value towards a sign value, becoming immanent within the consumer society.

At that stage the problematics of utility value were explored noting how Bataille had distinguished between material utility value and classical utility value. Material utility value was then demonstrated through the work of Adorno to be part of the consumption-production nexus. As opposed to this the concept of art as expenditure, an end in itself outside the production system, was introduced and expenditure was explored as a fundamental human need. In this sense art was presented as potentially performing a libratory role in breaking the production-consumption nexus.

Finally the chapter finished with a comparison between two authors, Adorno and Baudrillard, in examining how art could function in an oppositional sense. Baudrillard's system of the simulacra stood in marked contrast to Adorno's modernist reading of the role of aesthetics within society. In a way both interpretations, Adorno who favoured art as anti-commodity and Baudrillard's preference for art as absolute commodity, have similar characteristics. Both reject the myth of authenticity and see only hypocrisy in artists trying to achieve that goal. Both systems agree that the current climate for art is intolerable and that art has to do *something* to rebel. For Adorno this *something* was to represent reality through dissonance and ascetics thus activating the consciousness of the listener to the brutality of the system of reification that existed. For Baudrillard, art too had to represent the social order and activate the consciousness of the audience to what was happening. However in Baudrillard's perspective, reality only exists as a system of simulacra and it is this meaningless system of codes that art was to expose. In either case both authors seem to imbue in art a power to transcend the social order and activate consciousness.

It becomes clear from this elaborate conversation that art can perform a powerful and important function in society. Culture certainly has not escaped the process of commodification that Marx described yet despite its existence within this process, it appears to be not entirely reified and constituted by that system. Within art there may be a hope for some form of antidote to what Mauss described as the 'icy, utilitarian calculation' (pp76) of the capitalist mode of production and consumption.

Whilst the introduction to this chapter has noted that it is the privilege of grand social theory to remain at the level of the general and the abstract, a palpable frustration is

the lack of empirical research to consider the claims made by the authors (with the notable exception of Bourdieu). The following chapters shall seek to review the empirical research that has been inspired by this conversation within grand theory and review to what extent empirical research supports the role of culture as embodying a special type of commodity.

Chapter 2 Music in Marketing as Social Control

2.1 Introduction

An important element in chapter one, elaborated by Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) was that music can be employed as a means of controlling or reifying the public. By locating this powerful claim amongst a selective conversation of grand theorists, the chapter showed how the production and consumption of music tended towards material utility within culture industry as it resided within the exchange process or perhaps with a more abstract system of signs or simulacra. This chapter shall attempt to move the conversation from the general, typified by grand theory, towards the specific and review some of the mid-range empirical research that has been inspired by, or helps us make sense of, the grand theory conversation. This allows us to see the processes described by the grand theorists manifesting itself in real life as measured or observed by social scientists. In other words the thesis now moves from being concerned with the *abstract* to the *specific*.

This chapter shall review empirical studies that outline how music *can* and *does* act as a means of social control. As this study is located in the discipline of marketing, the two main domains through which this process shall be considered are the use of background music in retail atmospherics and second, the use of music in advertising, which some might see as a further commodification of music. The literature reviewed in this section is divided between positivist studies and latterly interpretive studies. The chapter includes an illustration of Nike's use of the song *Revolution* by the Beatles as part of their advertising.

2.2 *Music is Powerful*

According to the ethnomusicologist Gregory (1997), in many societies the idea of music as an independent art form to be enjoyed for its own sake is alien. Rather, for many cultures (for example in certain Arabic countries) music is an integral part of the culture, accompanying almost every human activity 'from the cradle to the grave, including lullabies, games, dancing, work, healing, battles, rites and ceremonies including weddings and funerals' (pp124). According to Gregory in Western society, our conception of music has been shaped by the development of 'art' music which emerged out of court or religious music (pp137) (see chapter four for more on this emergence). Nonetheless, despite this transition the concept of music being consumed as 'art' has been challenged by the research of authors such as the music social psychologists North & Hargreaves (1997b) and the sociologist Tia De Nora (2000) who consider music as something which is not so actively consumed and instead is *used* in 'the background'. Given the technological changes in recent times such as the invention of the Walkman and car radios, North & Hargreaves (1997b) encourage researchers to give more consideration for the existence of music in everyday life:

> As a result of the rapid technological developments which have occurred in recent years, the availability and ubiquity of music in all its forms is unprecedented in history. The growth of mass media since the 1960s and increasing availability of relatively inexpensive records, CDs, tapes and videos means that virtually any music can be heard by a considerable proportion of the world's population. These developments have been accompanied in miniaturisation and portability, which are epitomised by the ubiquitous Walkman. Such changes have also increased the ranges of uses that people make of music. Aside from its straightforward use as a source of intellectual and emotional pleasure, music might be used to achieve proficiency in a skilled task; to convey a particular self-image or personality; to accomplish particular aims in medicine, therapy or education; to sell commercial products, just to name a few examples. Music takes up larger proportions of the everyday lives of ordinary people than ever before. (North and Hargreaves, 1997b:pp2)

In a later study, North & Hargreaves (2003) considered the proportion of our lives in which we listen to music. Over two weeks they sent one text message a day to 346 people asking them to complete a questionnaire. Responses showed that participants could hear music on 38.6% of those occasions when a text message was received (North and Hargreaves, 2003:pp406). A central aspect here is the ubiquity of music in everyday life yet discourses within marketing concerned with the use of music in society seem to be rare. According to De Nora (2003) this is puzzling because throughout history there have been concerns over the uses that music is put to and its potential power:

> The history of music in the West is punctuated with attempts to enlist and censure music's powers. Most interesting of these centre on music's tonal properties as distinct from lyrics or libretti. The realm of sacred music offers many examples – Charlemange's *c.*800AD 'reform' of chant, Pope Gregory XIII's calls for 'revising, purging, correcting and reforming' church music, the late sixteenth-century Protestant call for plain hymn singing (as opposed to elaborate polyphony), and slightly later, J.S. Bach's dictum that the purpose of sacred music was 'to organise the congregation' are some of the better known. In the political realm, music has been mobilised or suppressed for its effects. Shostakovich's commission for a symphony to mark the anniversary of the Russian Revolution (and his later censure for writing 'decadent' music), the banishment of atonal music in Nazi Germany, and in relatively recent times, the furore over national anthem renditions (the Sex Pistol's *God Save the Queen* or Jimi Hendrix's version of the *Star Spangled Banner*) all attest to the idea that music can instigate consensus and/or subversion. If the lens is widened to consider music in a global perspective, even more dramatic examples emerge, most recently the prohibition, as reported in the Western media, of nearly all forms of music in Afghanistan. If there is one thing the world shares, musically speaking, it is probably the recognition, at times the *fear,* of what music may allow. (De Nora, 2003:pp1)

Within this context it is interesting to consider how marketing frequently uses music in the context of retail and service atmospherics and advertising. As this chapter proceeds it becomes clear that marketing practice contributes in no small way to the rising ubiquity of music in everyday life. Yet within marketing and consumer research studies there has been scant attention paid to concerns of how music can be used as a

means of social ordering apart from studies which address this notion with regards to managerial implications for future effective use of music (see section 2.4.4).

In a sense, the profusion of music through marketing channels may provide the ultimate form of culture industry as an imposed canon. Indeed whilst North & Hargreaves (1997b) plot the increase in the ubiquity of music from the sixties onwards, Adorno had already begun to discuss this phenomena by the 1930s with his article, *Music in the Background* (Adorno, 2002f). By the time he wrote *The Schema of Mass Culture* (Adorno, 2002c), Adorno was describing the right *not* to listen to music as a privilege, such was the incursion of music into daily life (pp87). Such an imposition is an excellent example of imposed canon by culture industry:

> Loudspeakers are installed in the smallest of nightclubs to amplify the sound until it becomes literally unbearable: everything is to sound like radio, like the echo of mass culture in all its might. The saxophones stand in pre-established harmony with the sound of canned music in so far as the instruments themselves manage to combine individual expression and mechanical standardisation, just as this is accomplished in principle throughout the process of mechanical reproduction. (Adorno, 2002c:pp67)

The claims made by Adorno that such profusion of music, now increasingly common within marketing contexts, is a form of social ordering or contribute to a reification of the populace is a matter which needs to be explored in order to arrive at a clear understanding of how marketing interacts with music and what are the consequences for both music and marketing. This research argues that there is a strong need to consider the ethical and aesthetic dimensions of this debate away from the managerial implications led approach which has dominated the marketing academy's approach to this subject, typified by Bruner's II (1990) call for marketers to better control music so that it can be used to 'act on the nervous system like a key on a lock, activating brain processes with corresponding emotional reactions' (pp94).

This chapter shall consider the work conducted in the use of music in marketing contexts with a view to social ordering. The chapter shall be divided into two sections; first the instance of background music in retail atmospherics and secondly the instance of music in advertising.

2.3 Background Music

Background music tends to go by a number of names including elevator music and Muzak, named after the (in)famous background music supplier. Its ubiquitous nature is described by Lanza in his monologue *Elevator Music* (1995):

> As restaurants, elevators, malls, supermarkets, office complexes, airports, lobbies, hotels, and theme parks proliferate, the background, mood or easy-listening music needed to fill these spaces becomes more and more a staple in our social diet. Indeed, background music is almost everywhere: avant-garde "sound-installations" permeate malls and automobile showrooms, quaint piano recitals comfort us as we wait in bank lines, telephone technotunes keep us complacently on hold, lunch Baroque refines our dining pleasure, and even synthesised "nature" sounds further blur the boundary between our high-tech Platonic caves and "real life". (Lanza, 1995:pp2)

Lanza encourages us to consider background music as part of an overall spectacle *extraordinaire,* a performance which includes all the physical dimensions of a servicescape but with the background music as the most essential part of this performance, 'a computerised chorus that judges, reflects and determines the actions and thoughts of every character' (pp1). The manner in which music 'judges, reflects and determines the actions and thoughts of every character' and the story of how marketing sought to understand it forms the basis of this section. First it is worth considering this phenomenon within the context of the Muzak Corporation's claim that 'music is art, Muzak is science' (Lanza, 1995). This section shall begin by reviewing the studies of background music that treat it as a science and introduce the

discipline of Aesthetic Psychobiology and its evolution into musical psychology and chart its influence in how marketers have traditionally approached the use of music.

2.4 Scientific Studies of Music and Aesthetic Psychobiology

Aesthetic psychobiology is a positivist approach to studying the application of music to context and was developed by Daniel Berlyne (1971). It has been described as part of the 'new experimental aesthetics'; a core influence in the development of music psychology which has dominated research of this domain (North and Hargreaves, 1997b). North & Hargreaves state that the research of Berlyne is characterised by the following four features (North and Hargreaves, 1997c:pp85):

1. It concentrates on collative properties of stimulus patterns. Collative properties are 'structural' or 'formal' properties, such as variations along familiar-novel, simple-complex, expected-surprising, ambiguous-clear and stable-variable dimensions.

2. It concentrates on motivational questions.

3. It studies non-verbal behaviour as well as verbally expressed judgements.

4. It strives to establish links between aesthetic phenomena and other psychological phenomena. This means that it aims not only to throw light on aesthetic phenomena but, through the elucidation of aesthetic problems, to throw light on human psychology in general.

As such the approach is typically positivist (for a treatise of positivism see Burrell and Morgan, 1979) with Berlyne stating the objective as seeking to 'note associations and correlations among them – in other words, to indicate which events tend to go together with which – enabling them to be *predicted*, *controlled* and *explained*' (Berlyne, 1971:pp3).

2.4.1 Daniel Berlyne

A central aspect of Berlyne's (1971) approach was that preference for stimuli is related to their arousal potential; the amount of activity they produce in areas of the brain such as the reticular activating system. Under this system, preference is typically incurred for stimuli with an intermediate degree of arousal potential with discomfort caused as the stimulus arousal potential moves to extremes (Berlyne, 1971; North and Hargreaves, 1997c). Berlyne identified three variables in which stimulus variables fall:

1. Psychophysical variables – the intrinsic physical properties of the stimulus, Berlyne gives an example of the late romantic composers of the nineteenth century striving for more violent emotional effects as a case of high intensity psychophysical stimulation (Berlyne, 1971:pp137).

2. Ecological variables – the learned associations between the stimulus and other events or activities of biological importance, Berlyne describes this as a similar process to classical conditioning and an example is the association of the piece Auld Lang Syne and New Year's Eve (1971:pp139).

3. Collative variables – the informational properties of the stimulus such as its degree of novelty / familiarity or complexities, Berlyne gives the example of how composers use juxtapositions between sounds for effect (Berlyne, 1971:pp141).

Berlyne was unapologetic for taking such a scientific approach to aesthetics and regarded the conventional view of art as a supernatural phenomenon, a view he held as typifying research of the aesthetic, as an impediment to progress:

> They and their evaluation belong to non-scientific discussions of artists and the arts. But the fact that works of art and their creators have been held in such awe has certainly made it difficult to adapt the sober, dispassionate stance that scientific examination of aesthetic phenomena must require. It has also inspired a great deal of hostility towards anybody trying to view art coolly and objectively, since any tendency to place art on the same footing as other activities is apt to appear as sacrilegious. (Berlyne, 1971:pp21)

He did acknowledge that the response to art could be based on other factors, such as those who would attend a concert 'because of the opportunity for gregarious satisfaction that it offers' but argued that this was a 'by-product' and 'incidental to the

functions of art' which ought to be carefully examined in order to distinguish them from functions that are acknowledged to be aesthetic (Berlyne, 1971:pp24). In this his approach differs from the grand theorists, most particularly Bourdieu (1984) who argued that the pursuit of such 'gregarious satisfaction' was the primary motivation.

A central aspect of Berlyne's theory is his inverted U-shaped curve relating to preference for stimuli in relation to their arousal potential as shown in Figure 5 below.

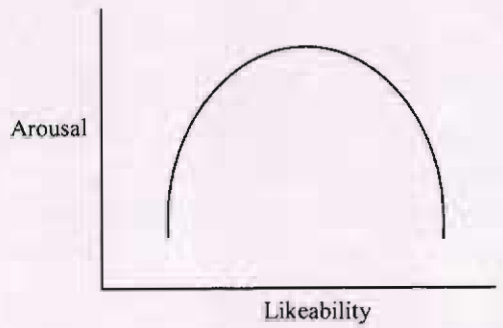

Figure 5 Berlyne's (1971) U-Shaped Curve

Three examples of studies that lend support to the theoretical construct of the curve are provided by North & Hargreaves (1997c), Holbrook & Schindler (1989) and by Simonton (1997). North & Hargreaves asked respondents to list different styles of music associated with rock and pop, jazz and classical music (e.g. punk, traditional jazz, opera). The reasoning being that the more styles that the respondent could identify, the more they listened to the music. By measuring the mean number of styles identified relative to the age groups (split into five age-groups, 9-10, 14-15, 18-24, 25-49 and 50+), the relationship forms an inverted-U (see Figure 5). A conclusion could

be drawn from their study that musical interest peaks within the age bracket of 18-24 then moves into decline. This is certainly the case with rock and pop music but is the opposite with classical and jazz which both grow according to age. The authors concluded that 'as people become more familiar with a stimulus, it should become more predictable and therefore less subjectively complex and arousing to them: in other words, the more familiar people are with something, so the better they know it' (North and Hargreaves, 1997c:pp90). North & Hargreaves (1997c) suggested that the discrepancy between popular and classical music was caused by the higher complexity of classical music: 'complex music was able to sustain a greater degree of naturalistic exposure than simple music before tolerance began to tail off, and this corresponds with Berlyne's theory (pp90).

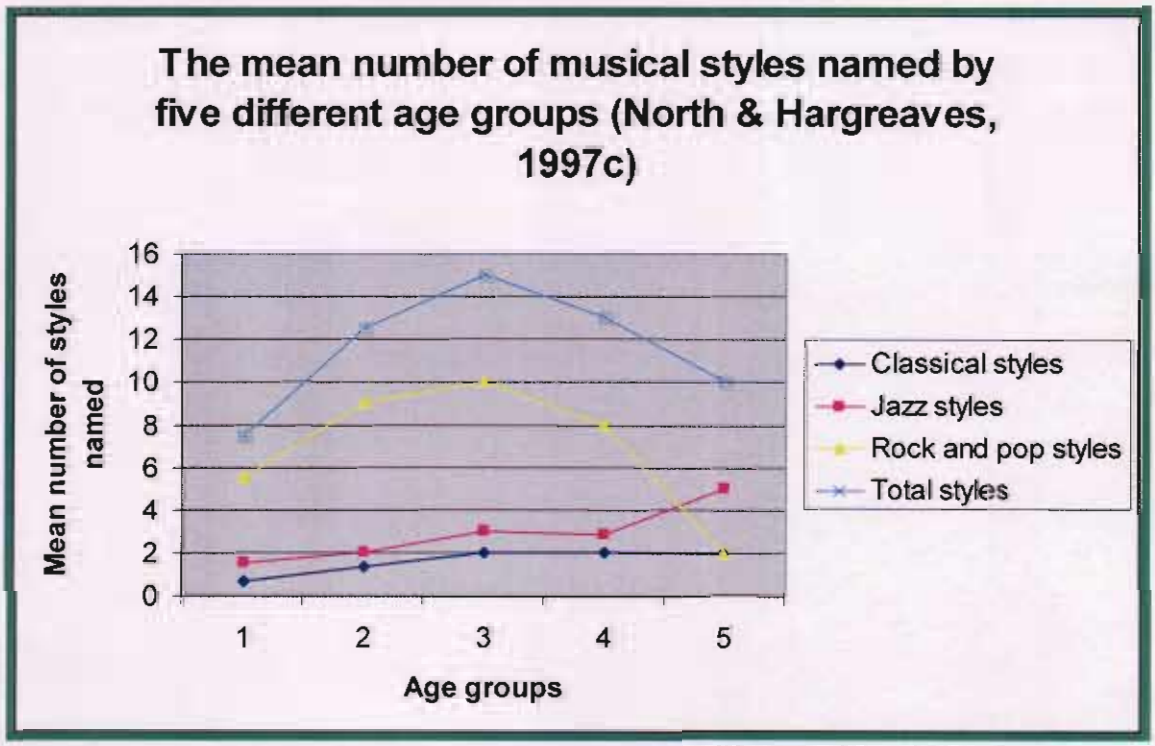

Figure 6 North & Hargreaves (1997c) The mean number of musical styles named by five different age groups

A similar study with corresponding results was conducted by Holbrook & Schindler (1989) who considered the development of musical tastes by using a random selection

of top selling hits from 1932 to 1986 as stimuli for a group ranging in age from 16-86 who were asked to state their preference to a selection of 28 top selling hits from 1928-1986. As per North & Hargreaves results, the authors found an inverted-U curve between musical preference and age with preference peaking at the age of 23.47 (see Figure 6). However, in accounting for this phenomenon they speculated that musical tastes may crystallise at this age for a variety of reasons including: there may be increased exposure to music at this age, the pressure from the consensus of predominant peer-group norms might be more influential when consumers leave home for first time or that people associate musical preferences with certain emotionally powerful 'rites of passage' that guide their 'coming of age' during the years of college and graduate school (pp123). Whilst drawing conclusions from the data may therefore be problematic, the emergence of the inverted-U shape curve does lend support to Berlyne's study.

A different theoretical approach to the issue named historiometrics that focused on the psychophysical properties of the music was provided by Simonton (1997). He took a huge sample – claiming that it represented almost 100% of classical music that is performed and recorded; 15,618 themes by classical composers spanning from the Renaissance to the 20th century (pp109). He then took the first six notes, yielding five two-note transitions between the consecutive pitches that open each theme. He tabulated the frequencies across all themes in order to find the improbability of each of those themes – defined as 'one that contains two-note transitions that are extremely rare, whereas a probable theme is one containing transitions that are extremely common' (pp109). By comparing his results with successful themes (defined in terms of frequency of performance), Simonton found that there was a correlation between

melodic originality and popularity. Where the melodic originality is high, the popularity is low. The popularity peaks when melodic originality is at intermediate level, the same effect as Berlyne. Simonton (1997) also identified that repertoire popularity, aesthetic significance and listener accessibility are all positively correlated with each other: 'fifteen symphonies, when compared to symphonies with different ordinal positions tend to be rated higher in both aesthetic significance and listener accessibility, a trend well exemplified by several fifths between Beethoven and Shostakovich. In contrast, whereas vocal music tends to score higher in aesthetic significance than instrumental music, it also tends to score lower in listener accessibility' (pp52). Simonton argued that the peak of the curve (see Figure 7) represents the compromise between the two contradictory tendencies – i.e. the music must be both significant and accessible but at the same time contain melodic originality.

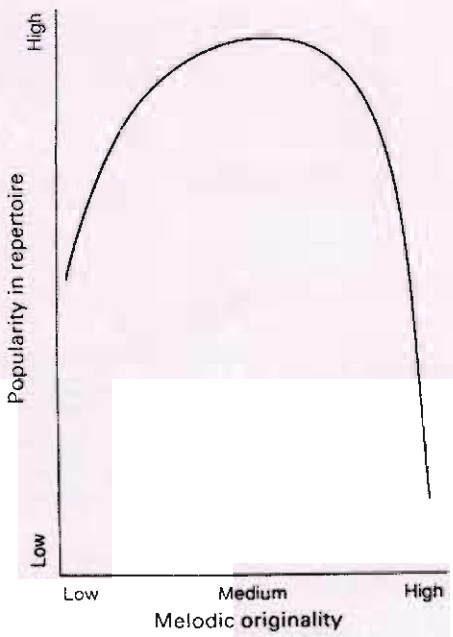

Figure 7 (Simonton, 1997) The relationship between repertoire popularity and melodic originality

Evidence that such an approach to composition exists within popular music is provided by Hamm's (1997) description of the song writing process:

> Since mass audiences were unlikely to respond favourably to a song that sounded too different from those that they already knew, writing a good popular song required, first of all, the use of musical and textual materials already known to the audiences. Popular songwriters weren't concerned with turning out products that moved beyond the style of their peers, but in working with them in a common idiom and establishing common ground with their audiences. Thus one cannot judge their songs according to whether or not they broke new harmonic, melodic or structural ground and audience rejection signalled failure, not success. (pp10).

This suggests that the key to aesthetic response lies with a moderate level of stimulus arousal potential in the music and further supports Berlyne's theory. Furthermore the work of Simonton (1997), especially when regarded alongside Hamm's (1997) description of the song writing process, suggests that composers of music are aware of this phenomenon. Far from what he described as the supernaturalism that surrounds our fetishisation of art, these studies encourage us to regard music as a positivist phenomenon with predictable consumer responses, which can be mapped using typical stimulus response models. As this chapter shall illustrate, a considerable body of marketing and consumer research studies into the use of music in marketing is based upon the positivist approach so the ability of studies to examine and verify Berlyne's framework, identified by North & Hargreaves (1997b) as being a core influence in the emergence of music psychology, is crucial to arriving at an understanding of the interaction between music and marketing.

2.4.2 Critique of Berlyne

A critique of Berlyne's (1971) approach is that not all forms of music can be described in terms of melodic complexity. For example, what are we to make of heavy metal, a form of music which employs heavy distortion with the effect of

burying the melody? Berlyne's theory claims that stimulus that go to extremes are negatively correlated with popularity, yet heavy metal certainly does go to extremes yet remains relatively popular (Zillmann and Gan, 1997).

Zillmann and Gan (1997) propose that a new variable be taken into consideration, Referential Musical Meaning. In their view the nature of heavy metal music seems 'devoid of aesthetic quality' (pp174) however, it remains popular due to the fact that it antagonises the parental generation; 'the motto being, the more they hate it, the better it makes us, the adolescents feel' (pp174). In this vain they distinguish between the Referential Musical Meaning and the Absolute Musical Meaning and they claim it is the former which is the main driver of musical taste. This conception corresponds to the difference between the utility value and exchange value of music, as outlined in chapter one and is also similar to Berlyne who acknowledged that the response to art could be based on other factors such as those who would attend a concert 'because of the opportunity for gregarious satisfaction that it offers' but argued that this was a 'by-product' and 'incidental to the functions of art' which ought to be carefully examined in order to distinguish them from functions that are acknowledged to be aesthetic (Berlyne, 1971:pp24). However, does the popularity of heavy metal suggest that rather than being a mere by-product, Referential Musical Meaning may be more of a driver of aesthetic response than Berlyne had reckoned?

Berlyne's (1971) approach assumes an element of positivist objectivity can be applied to what can be regarded as aesthetic and non-aesthetic consumption. Furthermore Berlyne's criteria for judging whether or not something is aesthetic seem to be based upon the 'liking' of the audience for artefacts. Having an extreme arousal potential

ought to be regarded, therefore, as less aesthetic whilst art that conforms to the expectation of the audience being more highly regarded, which is a reproduction of marketplace logic. Whilst such criteria may be successful in determining audience response, using the same criteria to determine aesthetic quality, as Zillman & Gan (1997) seem to imply, would deny aesthetic status to such composers as Schoenberg and the entire Dadaist movement. Therefore, this approach may be an oversimplification of the complex dynamics regarding the consumption of aesthetic commodities, as discussed in chapter one.

Indeed regarding music as a stimulus which can only create a level of arousal in the audience may be a reductive approach, as North & Hargreaves (2000) rightly ask: 'why should we prefer Beethoven's 9th Symphony to a mild electric shock, since both would induce a moderate level of arousal?' (pp16). Inherent is a fundamental decision that ought to be taken regarding the treatment of music; should it be tested using objective criteria or should it be acknowledged as a strictly subjective domain in which case such positivist models can only be regarded as seriously misunderstanding the entire basis of art itself?

In his text *Critique of Judgement* Kant (2001) argues that logical, objective reasoning is antithetical to the aesthetic:

> If we wish to discern whether anything is beautiful or not, we do not refer the representation of it to the Object by means of understanding with a view to cognition, but by means of the imagination we refer the representation to the Subject and its feeling of pleasure or displeasure. The judgement of taste, therefore, is not a cognitive judgement, and so not logical, but is aesthetic – which means that it is one whose determining ground *cannot be other than subjective.* (pp108)

In this view, Kant held that subjective thought was part of the process through which we gain a sense of the sublime, itself a disordered glimpse of the noumenal form of existence which can discover within us a power of resistance which gives people the courage to be able to measure ourselves against the seeming omnipotence of nature. In this form aesthetics was part of an Enlightenment movement away from the mind's bondage towards a degree of autonomy (Heath and Boreham, 2002). This view of aesthetics as activating a consciousness necessary for resistance again matches some of the discussion in chapter one but for the purpose of problematising Berlyne, it illustrates that the stimulus response approach may fall short of the aesthetic experience.

Such an example of the profundity of the subjective response was observed by Holbrook (1990) who once watched the artist Eileen Farrell gasp in admiration at a painting. For Holbrook this gasp represented a 'profound aesthetic response far deeper than anything that might be characterised as simple hedonic pleasure. It represents a state of nearly spiritual ecstasy duplicated elsewhere only in elevated levels of exalted rapture of cosmic consciousness' (pp1). This criticism again challenges the limited nature of mapping aesthetic psychobiology responses to art as failing to account for the 'transcendental consumption experiences' (pp2) also present. Indeed this is a criticism which incurs the sympathy of the current researcher.

Is this division between object and subject necessary? For example, Brown (1995) asks instead of an either/or approach to such dilemma, should marketing researchers not opt for an and/and approach which incorporates both dynamics? Or indeed another option for marketing researchers presented by Murray & Ozanne (1991) and

inspired by the Frankfurt School, of which Adorno was a key member, was rather than see reality as caught between a positivist and interpretive ontology, they suggest that reality can be seen in its dynamic, historical totality as a force field between subject and object; in other words rather than seeking to account for reality, to uncover the underlying forces of reification.

A final important criticism of Berlyne's approach is that it treats listening to music without due consideration for the context in which it is heard. As Konecni (1982) writes the research treats 'aesthetic preference and choice as if they, and the process of appreciation itself, normally occur in a social, emotional, and cognitive vacuum, as if they were independent of the contexts in which people enjoy aesthetic stimuli in everyday life' (Konecni, 1982:pp498). Noting that music is typically listened to as background music to tasks (such as Muzak in a supermarket or listening to the radio whilst driving or doing housework), North & Hargreaves (1997b) argue that Berlyne's theory can be used to help explain musical preferences in everyday listening situations which leads us to the development of musical social psychology, considered in the next section.

2.4.3 Music Social Psychology and Consumer Behaviour

North & Hargreaves (1997b) note the trend of music consumption has changed in recent times owing to such phenomena as the increasing availability of mass media matched by the advances in miniaturisation and portability of machinery such as the walkman and car stereos. They describe a second change as the rise within psychology and social sciences generally of the study of cognition and behaviour in

its social context. They therefore describe the purpose of music social psychology as dealing with:

> the effects of the physical properties of musical sounds themselves, with the ways in which individual listeners perceive and interpret those sounds, and with the social and interpersonal context in which musical meaning is constructed. (pp1)

In as much as music social psychology is concerned with the 'effects of the physical properties of musical sounds themselves', at least in the strand typified by the work of North & Hargreaves and marketing academics, the approach can be seen as the application of Berlyne's approach to social context bound research. They edited a book, *The Social Psychology of Music* (North and Hargreaves, 1997d), which they considered to be the cutting edge in shaping the emergent parameters of music social psychology thus illustrating the broad parameters of the discipline, including;

- O'Neill's (1997) study into gender and music where she considered issues such as gender differences in musical aptitude, achievement and preference.
- Crozier's (1997) investigation into music and social influence where he considered personal and social identity as a variable to affective responses to music.
- Bunt (1997) investigated the clinical and therapeutic uses of music.
- North & Hargreaves (1997a) conducted a review of music and consumer behaviour, drawing from a series of consumer research and marketing studies.

A common tie that binds all these studies, reminiscent of the contribution of Berlyne, was that in all cases music was treated as a *resource* rather than as an *aesthetic object*. This follows from a treatment of music that acknowledges its exchange form, rather

than its utility form, as discussed in chapter one and therefore can be seen as a defining point of music social psychology.

In this instance there is a happy meeting between music social psychology and marketing studies. Consumer behaviour studies have traditionally conducted socially located studies in order to monitor the impact of background music in specific contexts, such as the impact of background music upon restaurant patrons (Milliman, 1986) leading to writers from psychology (North and Hargreaves, 1997a) and sociology (De Nora, 2000) to compliment the marketing approach as they provide an alternative to the more widespread laboratory research approach. A key factor that links these approaches is they, as per Berlyne (1971), do not regard music as an aesthetic object but rather a tool for organising consumer behaviour. What follows is a description of the literature that has been written on such an approach to music. Following an outline of the literature, a critique of the approach shall be undertaken. The literature is divided into two subsections; music and the service environment and music in advertising.

2.4.4 Music and the Service Environment

Before investigating the consumer behaviour studies relating to music, it is worthwhile to consider the theoretical context in which consumer researchers approached the phenomenon. Kotler (1974), noting that in some cases people find the atmosphere of the retail setting is more influential than the product itself in the purchase decision, defined atmospherics as 'the effort to design buying environments to produce specific emotional effects in the buyer that enhance his purchase probability' (pp50). He called upon managers to consider a total design, which he regarded as a philosophy of creating a unified décor and tone throughout a building

which should be uniform in design and followed consistently and effectively throughout the space (pp50).

A development of Kotler's Atmospherics was provided by Bitner's Servicescape model (Bitner, 1992) which was an attempt to illustrate the complex relationships that exists between the physical characteristics of the environment, the intervening cognitive and affective response of the consumers and the behavioural outcomes. The servicescape (see Figure 8) can be described as all of the non-verbal communications within a service environment that have an affect on the cognitive, emotional and physiological responses of customers. This in turn impacts upon behavioural responses including the duration of stay, amount purchased and the extent of the customer's interaction with the service environment. The servicescape includes music, temperature, air quality, noise and odour. In this context, the servicescape considers background music as one of various factors which combine to result in a certain type of customer behaviour, similar to Kotler (1974) who held that there is 'total design'. As such the servicescape is similar to Berlyne's approach in that it views our response to music along a classical stimulus response paradigm. However in Bitner's (1992) case, the successful use of music can be specifically measured by behavioural outcomes such as approach; affiliation, exploration, longer stay or avoidance and also the most meaningful indicator for the purposes of marketers is the amount of money spent. The availability of such specific indicators of successful implementation has paved the way for a large number of studies considered here (including Bruner II, 1990; Gorn, 1982; Herrington and Capella, 1994; MacInnis and Park, 1991; Milliman, 1982; Yalch and Spangenberg, 1990).

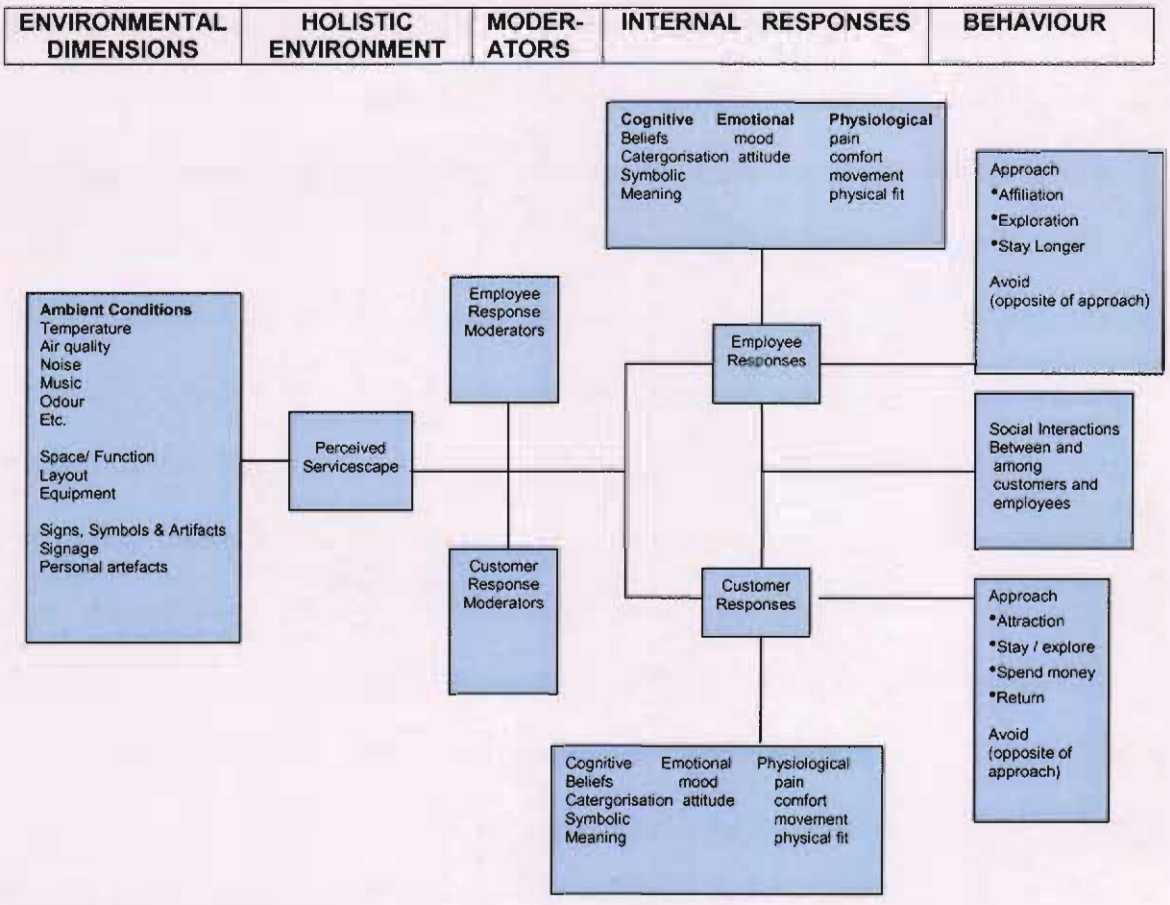

Figure 8 (Bitner, 1995) The Servicescape Model

Milliman's seminal findings encouraged other researchers to carry out such music social psychology/consumer behaviour studies which measured people stimulus response in this way (Bruner II, 1990; Oakes, 2000). Milliman (1982) noted how background music was used in stores to improve store image, make employees happier, reduce staff turnover and to stimulate customer purchasing however, he noted that in most instances where music is employed in such a way, decisions on how it should be used were generally based on intuition or folklore rather than on 'strong empirical results' (pp86) and sought to conduct such a study to investigate using background music to affect the behaviour of supermarket shoppers. He considered medium sized stores in large national chains in the USA and over the course of a nine-

week period he measured the pace of in-store traffic flow through observational techniques, daily gross sales and music awareness with tempo taken to be the independent research variable. The outcome was an increase in the average gross sale from $12,112.35 for fast tempo to $16,740.23 for slow tempo music, representing a 38.2% increase in sales attributable to changes in the tempo of music. Interestingly the study also considered the impact of no music and found no significant difference between playing slow music and no music at all. Therefore one conclusion that could be drawn, though surprisingly was not explored by Milliman in his paper, was that all the study had shown was that playing fast music *reduces* sales rather than showing that music improves sales.

A second study undertaken by Milliman (1986) was concerned with the influence of background music on the behaviour of restaurant patrons. He took a medium sized restaurant in the USA, which he considered to be of high quality, in that there was an attractive quality and décor, above average prices and a middle class clientele. Again the music tempo was taken as the independent variable, however for reasons not stated; no investigation was made of the impact of no music. The findings are tabulated in Table 2.

Variables	Slow Music	Fast Music	Significance
Service time	29 mins	27 mins	.00

Customer time at table	56 mins	45 mins	.01
Customer groups leaving before being seated	10.5%	12%	>.05
Estimated gross margin	$55.82	$48.62	.05
Amount of bar purchases	$30.47	$21.62	.01

Table 2 (Milliman, 1986) Impact of background music on restaurant patrons

The study again found interesting differences between playing music of different tempos, most notably in terms of bar purchases. However, in the light of his 1982 study it is puzzling that he did not include a no-music test.

Since Milliman a number of similar studies have been conducted. Yalch & Spangenberg (1990) who explored the effects of store music on shopping behaviour found results that were favourable to a no-music option. In their study, which was based upon a department store catering to a range of different age groups, they distinguished between foreground music, which they held to consist of generally familiar music performed by the original musicians with lyrics, and background music which they held to be generally unfamiliar music recorded by session musicians playing instrumental music which was typically more restricted in range of tempo, frequencies and volume. Based on interviews with customers having systematically varied the music in the departments, they concluded that their results were favourable for the no-music option. At this point in the literature review it might be noted that the notion that music is desirable in retail settings is based on intuition rather than being supported by hierarchical findings which seem to support a no-music option.

2.4.4.1 Music and Time Perception

The Yalch & Spangenberg (1990) study also investigated the impact of music upon time perception. One half of shoppers were asked to take as long as they liked to carry out their shopping while the other half were asked to complete their shopping within eleven minutes. The results are tabulated below.

	Variable shopping time		Fixed shopping time	
	Unfamiliar music	Familiar music	Unfamiliar music	Familiar music
Actual time (seconds)	801	738	660	660
Perceived time	483	527	436	607

Table 3 (Yalch & Spangenberg, 1990) Influence of background music on time perception

The results of this study suggest that an impact of music in a retail setting is to seriously underestimate the amount of time spent in a store with the implication that it may lead to further expenditure. Yalch & Spangenberg suggest that the reason for this was because music caused people to be in a higher level of arousal and therefore had a distorted sense of time. However, Kellaris & Kent (1992) have disputed this interpretation and instead claim that 'time does not fly when you are having fun' (pp366). They researched the hypothesis that pleasant information is processed and recalled more efficiently and also that time perception is positively related to the number of events that are processed within a given period. In other words, liked music creates a longer time perception and if the music is less liked, the consumer will spend more time shopping. Taking the viewpoint that major modes generally evoke positive feelings, minor modes evoke melancholy, sentimental or plaintive and that atonal modes are generally perceived as less pleasant than conventional modes, people were asked to listen to music on a headphone and then fill in a questionnaire. Their conclusion was that time 'flew' faster for listeners exposed to music that produced the

least positive affective evaluation. This suggests that the practice of playing appealing music to customers on waiting lines on telephones, for example in a bank telephone service, may be counter-productive, again suggesting that the hierarchical research does not support existing conventional uses of music.

2.4.4.2 The Imbroglio State of Music in Marketing

The above interpretation of Yalch & Spangenberg's work by Kellaris & Kent has been further problematised by a study by North, Hargreaves and McKendrick (1999) which considered the difference between caller response to being played on-hold music by the Beatles compared to pan-pipe recordings of same – the premise being that people would prefer the former yet they did not find a significant response difference between the two variations (North et al., 1999). A further study by North & Hargreaves (1999) contrasted the effects of playing different variations of the same genre of music whilst people waited, resulted in the respondents being more likely to leave the room when no music was played, whilst they found no significant differences in waiting time when they played different types of music. They accepted that their study lent support to Kellaris & Kent's (1992) claim that music can lend to a disruption to 'an internal clock that governs participants' time perception' (pp145), but also that their findings were inconsistent with his claim that music should have led to specifically longer subjective time estimation and therefore specifically shorter actual waiting time than no music. They suggested that the difference in findings may be accounted for by the fact that their study was based in a realistic social setting (a waiting room) as opposed to Kellaris & Kent's (1992) laboratory based research and suggested that this lent further support for the call to have music researched in the context in which it occurs.

A further example of a research being problematised by further research was Herrington & Capella's (1996) review of Milliman's 1986 study. Where Milliman had played different types of music at different tempi, this time state-of-the-art machinery was employed that played the same piece of music but at different tempi (i.e. the modality, harmonies, timbre etc. were kept constant). This was in recognition of Kellaris & Kent (1992) who had warned that when different pieces of music are used to manipulate a musical variable, musical properties are confounded, making it difficult to isolate specific caused antecedent. Also taken into account was the size of the shoppers' household, their antecedent mood and their time pressure. They found that the customers were not affected by the tempo of the music in terms of the amount of time and money they spent in the supermarket, i.e. Milliman's findings were not supported. Instead they found that it was the customers' preference for the music that was influencing their behaviour. Once again a relatively slight change in methodology can have a large impact upon the research findings. They concluded that 'regrettably, not enough is currently known about the effects of music and the musical preferences of consumers to offer anything beyond general advice. Additional research is much needed' (pp39). The matter is confused further by the research of Rose & Shrimp (see special session report Blair and Kellaris, 1993) who suggested that the impact of music upon sales may not have been caused by the internal elements of the music but rather by the positive impact of the music upon employees who therefore provided superior customer service. They also found that other important variables including store location, clientele and day of the week were found to moderate the effects of background music on shopping behaviour (pp558). This problematises studies that have not taken these variables into consideration.

In an attempt to bring together existing research within marketing and tie them to Bitner's (1992) Servicescape, Oakes (2000) developed what he labelled the Musicscape in which he sought to 'highlight the significant relationships which previous studies have revealed, as well as indicating areas where no significant relationships has yet been confirmed (e.g. between musical tempo and perceived duration). It also underlines the interdependence of the various compositional elements which make up the musical stimulus' (pp540).

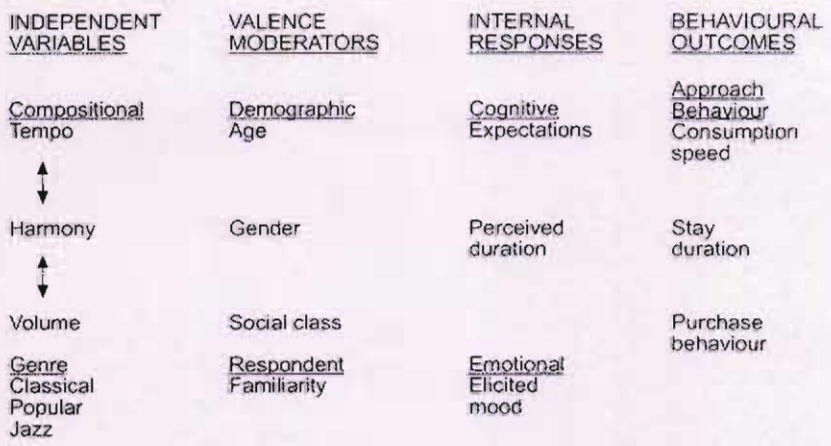

Figure 9 (Oakes, 2000) The Musicscape Model

An important feature of the Musicscape is that it recognises the interdependence of the musical elements such as tempo, harmony, modality, volume, genre and others. This is as opposed to studies by authors who sought to isolate one element of the music, i.e. Milliman (1982) and tempo. Oakes (2000) encourages readers to be cautious of studies which have glossed over such 'potential interactions' (pp541) and as such the Musicscape is presented as being a 'challenge to all preceding studies' (pp553). This follows a similar call from Bruner (1990), who argued that marketing studies of music must increase efforts to raise the level of experimental sophistication to account for the complex working of the musical stimulus and that control of

musical components in marketing studies was 'rarely adequate' (pp100) and also Kellaris & Kent (1992) who warned that 'when different pieces of music are used to manipulate a musical variable, musical properties are confounded, making it difficult to isolate specific caused antecedents' (pp119).

2.4.4.3 Musical Fit and Prototypicality

One element which has been absent from the discussion so far is that of musical fit – defined by MacInnis & Park in the context of advertisements as the 'consumer's subjective perception of the music's relevance or appropriateness to the central ad message' (MacInnis and Park, 1991:pp162). This is a similar concept to what Kotler (1974) had described as 'total design' in atmospherics which held that managers ought to create a 'unified décor and tone' (pp50). Similarly Bitner (1992:pp241), argued in her Servicescape model that 'In general when expectations are negatively disconfirmed, the person is likely to dislike the place' (pp241). North & Hargreaves (1997a) have considered musical fit as being the same phenomenon considered by music social psychologists as prototypicality, which they define as 'the degree to which a given stimulus is typical of its class. For example, sandy brown dogs with four legs are more typical of the category 'dog' than are albino dogs with three legs' (North and Hargreaves, 1997c:pp95).

Martindale & Moore (1989) conducted an experiment in order to test predictions derived from Berlyne's theory of aesthetic preference. In a laboratory style setting, people were played music and then asked to evaluate the music out of ten in terms of their preference. The melodies used were held to have an inverted-U relationship between uncertainty and preference. One purpose of their study was to compare the relative importance of uncertainty, a collative variable and intensity, and

psychophysical variables as predictors of preference (see section 2.4.1 of this thesis for an introduction to collative, ecological and psychophysical variables). The second function of the experiment was to determine whether uncertainty is confounded with variations in the degree to which a sound sequence is perceived as being musical (pp435). According to Berlyne's (1971) theory, preference is an inverted U-function of arousal potential; with the consequence that an increase in the maximally preferred level of other determinants and those collative variables are the most important forms of predictors. However, Martindale & Moore's findings did not support this theory and found no such trade-off among the different variables and that the ecological variables were more important in determining preferences than were collative variables. What is more they found a positive relationship between preference and prototypicality.

The findings of Martindale & Moore were problematised by North & Hargreaves (2000) who questioned the methodology. They argued that if two sets of music were taken, one an untypical piece of music of variant complexity and the other a typical piece of music with invariant complexity, the prototypicality would explain preference in the first instance and complexity in the second. This creates uncertainty in determining what the true driver of preference is and they argued that it would be too simplistic to disregard Berlyne for this reason. In their discussion they made the following point:

> Musical stimuli vary along an almost endless number of factors such as tempo, volume, complexity, style, etc. Varieties in any one variable are by definition variations in the extent to which the musical piece in question is typical of those to which subjects usually listen: for example, we are more typically exposed to music of one given level of complexity than another and so a variation in complexity also represents a variation in prototypicality. The same difficulty would arise in an attempt to investigate the relative importance of typicality and other variable, no matter how absurd. (pp15)

This conclusion draws attention to a very important problem within the research; if this view is held then it is impossible to hold prototypicality constant while manipulating other variables since the manipulation of any other variable will also affect the degree to which the stimulus approximates to the music that people are typically exposed to. The implications of this for methodology present very real problems for conducting research, given what North & Hargreaves (2000) describe as the 'endless number of factors' along which musical stimuli vary (pp15) and then, should a methodology be arrived that would overcome this problem, any adjustment to the properties of the music would also constitute an adjustment of the prototypicality. North & Hargreaves finished their piece by raising the problem (already mentioned) that positivist frameworks have not yet arrived at an understanding of musical preference that goes beyond arousal potential and raise their telling question: 'why should we prefer Beethoven's 9th Symphony to a mild electric shock, since both would induce a moderate level of arousal?' (pp16).

Despite the music's imbroglio state within marketing, a number of studies have been conducted which suggest the importance of musical fit in the service environment and they are here outlined.

Areni & Kim (1993) carried out a study in a wine store where they played classical and top-40 pop and measured people's behaviour in terms of the number of shelf items examined, handled and purchased and the amount of money spent. The objective of the study was to 'identify the background music that would create a setting appropriate for the purchase and consumption of wine' (Areni & Kim, 1993:pp336). The outcome was that they noticed a slight increase in the amount of

wine handled and purchased when classical music was played. However, what was of most interest was that the average total sale increased from $2.18 in the pop condition to $7.43 in classical. This led the authors to speculate that rather than influencing patrons to purchase greater quantities of merchandise, the classical music led them to buy more expensive items: 'if consumers are seeking sophistication, then in-store cues must suggest and facilitate that experience' (pp338). However as Oakes (2000) states, as Areni & Kim did not include a no-music condition, conclusions are difficult. For example, was it that classical music facilitated or top-40 inhibited the purchase of expensive items?

A similar study was conducted by North & Hargreaves (1997a) who considered both French music and German music in the wine department of a supermarket relative to the type of products that people bought. When they played French music, French wine outsold German wine by a ratio of 3.3:1 but when German music was played, the German wine outsold the French wine by a ratio of 2.75:1. Similar findings were presented by Alpert & Alpert (1990) who found that sad music led to a higher purchase intention for greeting cards than did happy music and speculated that this was because sad music was more appropriate for the cards. 'Although far from conclusive, these studies could be seen as initial evidence that the idea of musical 'fit' extends into the domain of in-store music, so that music primes the selection of certain goods' (North & Hargreaves, 1997a:pp275).

Herrington & Capella (1996) considered the impact of musical fit on supermarket customers and used tempo and volume as the variables. They found that the musical tempo was an affect, however, the driver of behaviour was the consumer preference

for the music and that preference was partially borne out by the fit of the music to the retail space, leading them to conclude; 'service providers can potentially maximise both exploration and expenditures by making sure that the musical compositions contained in the background music match as closely as possible the tastes and preferences of shoppers as well as the nature of the services provided' (pp37).

De Nora (2000) conducted a study of how music was employed in clothes shops and how customers responded to it. She noted how, across different chain stores, there was a standard design to the stores:

> The physical 'hardware' of the shops is virtually identical – a large rectangular area, wood floors, subdued lighting, a long block counter, one or two oversized vases filled with coral coloured gladioli, lilies or branches from flowering shrubs, an oversize mirror just outside the changing rooms and of course the fashion products themselves. Music, then, provides a final semiotic layer; it can be used to contextualise, modify and fine-tune the 'stage set' of a retail space. (De Nora and Belcher, 2000:pp88)

Just as Areni & Kim had speculated that music acts as an in-store cue implying modes of behaviour, De Nora argued that music provides an index to shoppers regarding in-store behaviour; 'according to how it is perceived, music may serve as a referent for the formulation of such diverse matters as how to move, how to imagine one's self-identity, how to browse (and thus, perhaps, what to purchase), how to mould one's appearance and how to feel and act' (pp141).

Matilda & Wirtz (2001) were concerned with the congruency of scent and music as a driver of in-store evaluation and behaviour: 'pleasant ambient stimuli are perceived more positively when their arousing qualities match rather than mismatch... We argue that consumers perceive servicescapes holistically and that consumer responses to a physical environment depend on the ensemble effects (configuration)' (pp273-4). They took three scents which they regarded as being differentiated in terms of

affective quality, arousing nature and their intensity. An attempt was then made to match music in terms of their arousing qualities with the same qualities in the scents (for example, grapefruit was regarded as being high-arousal and lavender as low arousal). Their results supported the notion that the fit would create a positive impact in terms of customer preference.

The above evidence relating to musical fit suggests that the best use of background music is where it is appropriate or fits with the context in which it is heard. However, a problematic to be addressed is who decides what music is appropriate to a context and why? For example, Matilda & Wiltz argue that an album called the *Energising* collection which features fast-tempo music, is high in arousal and therefore should fit a high arousal scent, which they deemed to be grapefruit because it is a 'stimulating scent, which can refresh, revive and improve mental clarity and alertness and even enhance physical strength and energy' (pp278). Such a deduction seems closer to the spirit of new age writing rather than what Berlyne (1971) described as the 'sober, dispassionate stance that scientific examination of aesthetic phenomena must require' (pp21). In Areni & Kim's study, they acknowledge that their claim that classical music somehow fits wine is based on intuition (Areni and Kim, 1993:pp336) and then proceeded to seemingly archaically pick the following albums for their study; *The Mozart Collection, Mendelssohn Piano Concerto #2, My Favourite Chopin, Vivaldi – the Four Seasons.* Herrington & Capella's (1996) selected the music that would fit on the basis of differences in tempo and also the match between the music played and consumer's personal musical preferences. In MacInnis & Park's (1991) study (described below) the song *You Make Me Feel Like a Natural Woman* was judged to fit with an advertisement for women's shampoo based on a pre-test whereby women

were asked to rate the level of musical fit for the advertisement which included the slogan 'a natural woman like you needs a pure, wholesome, natural shampoo' (pp165). As respondents were not asked why they believed this fit occurred, it could be speculated that the perceived fit can be attributed to the lyrics. Therefore across these four studies mentioned in this paragraph, musical fit is accounted for using very different reasons; in Matilda & Wiltz (2001) it is attributed to the arousal level of the music, in Areni & Kim (1993) it is attributed to the sign value of the music, in Herrington & Capella (1997) it is tempo and the match to people's musical tastes whilst in MacInnis & Park (1991) it may be speculated that the lyrics were the root of the fit. This suggests that there is no consensus as to why musical fit should occur and how a piece of music can be appropriate to anything which is non-musical.

2.4.4.4 Music as Social Ordering

The research thus far is clearly concerned with socially ordering the populace and the above can be considered as a study of the relationship between sound and action. According to De Nora (2003) the retail space is a heuristically useful case-in-point for studies of sound and action, as it allows for the assessment of whether it is possible to structure space so as to afford particular – and organisationally preferred – forms of action (pp130). She concurs with other marketing and music social psychology writers who suspect that musical fit might be a key concern, as she states 'the concept of 'fit' as developed by social psychologists is, I suggest, just the tip of the sociological iceberg' (pp131). To begin she outlines how musical fit suggests that music can, if actors acknowledge and connect to it in certain ways, enable and constrain behaviour insofar as that behaviour is action meaningfully orientated in its course. Rather than selecting a form of music which will balance with the listening

tastes of the target market, this perspective holds that music should be selected that will shape the behaviour of the shopper in a way required by the retailer; i.e. background music is not something done *with* customers but rather done *to* customers.

2.4.5 Music and Advertising

Advertising has been defined as 'the means by which one party attempts to convince or entice another into purchasing a particular product or service' (Huron, 1989:pp1) or more simply as 'persuasive communication... and is usually delivered through some medium of mass communication' (Lane and Russell, 2000:pp7) and as 'the language of capitalism' (Cross, 1996:pp1). It is part of the communications mix which includes sales promotion, direct marketing, public relations, sponsorship, corporate identity and e-marketing (Smith and Taylor, 2002). According to Williamson, advertising is a major cultural phenomenon in its own right:

> Advertisements are one of the most important cultural factors moulding and reflecting our life today. They are ubiquitous, an inevitable part of everyone's lives: even if you do not read a newspaper or watch television, the images posted over our urban surroundings are inescapable. Pervading all the media, but limited to none, advertising forms a vast superstructure with an apparently autonomous existence and an immense influence. (pp1)

For the benefit of this research, two main uses of music in advertisements are explored, the use of music jingles and secondly the playing of non-jingle music.

2.4.5.1 Jingles

Jingles are defined as 'short musical phrases repeated over and over; they were commissioned specifically for the advertiser's purpose and were keyed to memorisation' (Goldman and Papson, 1996:pp70) and listed in the Oxford Companion to Popular Music as 'apt name now given to those insidious musical interludes (usually vocal) which radio and television advertisers use to herald their

wares' (Gammond, 1991:pp297). The Oxford Companion notes that many jingles are composed anonymously, demonstrating the respect that they hold within the music industry.

The use of jingles in advertising ought not to be considered as a modern phenomenon. In fact it is centuries old. Gregory (1997) demonstrated how music was used for selling throughout the ages with street vendors hawking their goods to the tune of a melodic chant[2], the earliest form of jingle. Reublin (2000) gives an account of how the burgeoning American advertising industry almost immediately latched on to the use of music in the nineteenth century as sheet music became an important medium for advertisers. Reublin cites the 1836 song *Think and Smoke Tobacco* by John Ashton as being an important stage in the development of industrial plugs in popular music. He gives the example of how song was used as a means of advertising with the 1883 Vegetable Compound jingle:

> *Mrs. Brown had female weakness,*
> *She could have no children dear,*
> *Til she took two bottles of Compound,*
> *Now she has one every year.*
> (Reublin, 2000:pp2)

Huron (1989) developed a six point analytical paradigm to describe the role of jingles for advertising which serves as a useful framework for considering the phenomenon. He identifies six basic ways in which music can contribute to an effective advertisement that forms the basis of this literature review section:

1. Entertainment
2. Structure/ Continuity
3. Memorability
4. Lyrical Language
5. Targeting

[2] A practice that survives to this day in North Dublin City Centre, Ireland.

6. Authority Establishment

2.4.5.2 Entertainment

Huron states that music can benefit an ad merely by making it more attractive and engaging the attention of the audience. For example, Hecker (1984) cites the use of a jingle in the Fritos Corn Chips commercials as 'clearly designed to be entertaining and to elicit feelings of fun' (pp3) and also to offer the listener an award for giving attention to the ad. He concludes that 'since television, and to some extent radio, are exciting entertainment media, advertising is expected to strive for similar values, and in doing so, often provides incentive for the viewer to stay tuned for the message' (pp5). Humour is another feature often established by music. Hecker gives the example of Lincoln-Mercury and Frito Lay ads and states that 'music is a powerful force and music combined with humour is often irresistible' (pp6).

2.4.5.3 Structure/ Continuity & Lyrical Language

Huron (1989) describes the role of continuity and lyrical language as 'tying together a sequence of visual images and/or a series of dramatic episodes, narrative voice-overs, or a list of product appeals... (and to) achieve greater continuity originated in film music where one of its functions was to smooth out sequences of discontinuous scene changes or edits (and to) heighten or emphasise dramatic moments of episodes' (pp3). An example is provided by Scott (1990) in her analysis of the music used in a Honda ad. Fast music is synchronised to imagery of a car race. It is there to 'describe the speediness of the car while heightening the tension of the narrative, helping to hold our attention' (pp229). Similarly Dunbar (1990) states that music is used as pure background that can be used to 'fill in an awkward silence in the soundtrack; to

provide a carpet for a voice-over to sit on; to provide continuity between disparate or disjointed visuals; to hide the seams in the picture edit' (pp9).

Figure 10 (Huron, 1989) Rhythmical Language

Huron (1989) cites the above rhythm which is used in the McDonalds' ad for Sausage McMuffin. The rhythm is derived from the spoken rhythm of the two product names 'Sausage McMuffin and Sausage McMuffin with Egg' (pp3). A similar use of music is demonstrated by Brown (2001a) in his analysis of the ad for Caffreys:

> The ad 'announces' itself with a wonderful musical flourish – baaam, bam, bam, bam. Like the opening bars of Beethoven's *Fifth* or Led Zeppelin's *Whole Lotta Love*, these chords seem to say 'This is something special, sit up and pay attention'. (pp:1)

The use of music in this way is an example of the use of the psychophysical elements of music (see section 2.4.1) to achieve advertising based goals. Another example is provided by Scott (1990) in her analysis of an ad for Bayer Aspirin which demonstrates how the music is part of the overall narrative:

> (The ad) opens abruptly with a shot of a man in pain and the sound of dissonant music. Within seconds, a billboard flashes a black-and-white message: "Pain", then we see a series of flashes of various people rubbing their bodies in gestures of discomfort, accompanied by heightening aural dissonance. After a few of these pictures, we are shown a quick image of a Bayer aspirin bottle. Intermittently, with the continued images, the product pitch starts. As the announcer builds his case, the dissonant music almost imperceptibly becomes consonant. The people now are smiling, relieved. Bayer aspirin has done its work. (pp228)

Huron states that in such cases, the music ought to be regarded as being a form of lyrical language:

> Vocal music permits the conveyance of a verbal message in a non-spoken way. Language utterances can sound much less naïve or self-indulgent when couched within a musical phrase rather than simply spoken. An individual can respectably sing things which would sound utterly trite if said. (pp5)

An example of such lyrical language is provided in both Brown's (2001a) and Scott's (1990) analyses. In the case of Brown, had the ad started with text as grand and glorious as the music, the audience may have found it trite. Similarly with Scott the music allows the recovery from pain to be presented in a way that is dramatic and rapid, had this been attempted by text it may have sounded ridiculous or even misrepresentative. This leads Huron (1989) to conclude 'agencies exploit this polarity between speech and song by relegating factual information to spoken language and emotional, non-factual messages to lyrical language' (pp5).

In a similar way, Dunbar (1990) suggests that music can be used to communicate the unmentionable and gives the example of a Brazilian ad for condoms. The message was hidden in a romantic song resulting in a 'powerful, memorable, relevant, and totally acceptable, communication' (pp201). Hecker (1984) states that music can be left incomplete such as the absence of well-known lyrics and gives the example of Micky Rooney whistling the theme *I Drink Dr Pepper, Don't You Know* leaving the audience to fill in the words and the brand name. Other uses of advertising music as narrative include location identification (Hecker, 1984; Scott, 1990), for example the use of Irish traditional music over green pastures identifies an Irish theme for an advertisement.

2.4.5.4 Memorability

The above example of McDonalds demonstrates how the psychophysical elements of the music can be used to reinforce the product message. Similarly Huron (1989) gives the example of a jingle which is used to aid memorability and product recall. He gives the example of the 1950s jingle for Pepsodent:

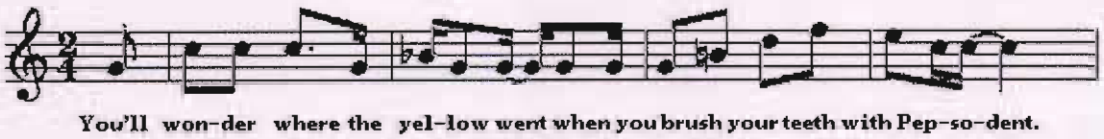

Figure 11 (Huron, 1989) Memorability

With reference to the above jingle, Reublin (2000) states its entertainment value and asks 'how can we ever forget them and the nostalgic images and smiles that they bring us?' (pp3) Hecker (1984) stresses the importance of repetition (which is common in the use of jingles) and also shows how 'ridiculous associations' can dramatise a point and cites one of the most famous jingles *I'm Chiquita Banana* as an example (pp7). The notion of repetition and the ridiculous is also observed by Scott (1990) in her analysis of a Diet Coke jingle suggesting that music not only supports repetition but can make it pleasurable and that, furthermore, rhythmical repetition in music creates a growing sense of accomplishment. Dunbar (1990) states that the jingle can be used as a brand signature and hence becomes as much a part of the total brand as the logo or pack design.

2.4.5.5 Targeting

As much as music can be used as a means of entertainment, it can also be used in a manner which is exclusive and helps the ad to focus its message to its target market. Huron provides the example of the Ford Motor Company using country and western music as a means of targeting their social demographic. Scott (1990), in her analysis of the Levis' *Bluesman* ad, resists the temptation to conclude the obvious, that the blues was being used as a means of targeting the young white audience thus capitalising on the crossover of black artists into the mainstream pop audience in the mid-1980s. Scott suggests that the use was a dialogic representation of the phenomenon of play and sub-cultural forms found between urban white youth and black culture. The ad recognises the white appropriation of black culture by whites and is therefore a dialogic approach to identifying with alienation. Hence she concludes that the ad speaks through identification between classes as opposed to being a piece of exclusive targeting.

2.4.5.6 Authority Establishment

Huron (1989) states that music is often used to enhance the ad's credibility in a way similar to celebrity endorsement. He gives the example of an ad for Old Tyme Syrup. The product is actually, far from being old time, a synthetic maple syrup substitute. For the ad a parody is used of the popular revival song *Gimme That Old Time Religion:*

> *Gimme that Old Type Syrup, with the Old Tyme maple flavour*
> *Gimme that Old Tyme Syrup, it's the only one for me.*
> *It's the only one for pancakes, it's the only one for waffles;*
> *Gimme that Old Tyme Syrup, it's the only one for me.*
>
> (cited by Huron, 1989pp8)

Huron suggests that the emphasis of old family and religious values is an attempt to mask the company's lack of history. He notes with irony that they have replaced the line 'it's good enough for me' with 'it's the only one for me' and wryly suggests that, as the product is a cheap synthetic substitute for the more expensive real maple syrup, the original lyric would have been more truthful. This is also an example of the use of music for nostalgia which is cited as a simulating use of music (Hecker, 1984).

2.4.6 Non-jingle music in advertisements

Whereas jingles tend to be pieces of music especially composed for advertisements, this section deals with already existing music which is selected for advertisements by advertisers. There exists a body of literature which seeks to guide advertisers in this process and hence returns the literature to psychological models.

The Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981) outlines the means of persuasion according to the level of involvement. Involvement may be defined as the 'perceived personal importance and/or interest consumers attach to the acquisition, consumption and disposition of a good' (Mowen & Minor, 1995). The extent to which the consumer is involved in the exchange process will determine the most effective communicative mix that the marketer should employ. The ELM (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981) recognises that where the consumer is highly involved in the exchange, any acquired information will be elaborated upon in a central way, i.e. attitudes are formed by careful consideration of information relevant to the product. Where there is low involvement, the elaboration is done according to the peripheral route, i.e. the consumer does not actively think about that object or its attributes, but rather will associate it with positive or negative cues. For example, it might be

expected that the customer in the exchange process of buying a car will more actively seek and analyse information relating to the different types of cars than a customer who is buying a bar of chocolate.

Where the customer enters the exchange process in a low state of involvement, the use of music may be used to positively influence consumer choice. Gorn (1982) carried out tests to determine whether music could condition people's attitude provides evidence of this approach. Subjects were shown a slide of either a light blue pen or a beige coloured pen in the presence of music that was either liked (in this case the music was taken from the musical *Grease*) or music that was disliked (classical Indian music). Subjects were then invited to choose one of two types of pens that were located in boxes in different sides of the room. 79% of subjects chose the pen that was associated with liked music suggesting that attitude was conditioned by music. However, in a separate study a different group of respondents were told at the start that they would receive a pen and that they must choose between the two pens at the end of the study. This group tended to choose the pen that was advertised with information emphasising that it did not smudge. Gorn concluded that music could only condition the consumers' attitude in cases where there is low involvement. Where the customers analyse the products centrally, the music lost its conditioning affect.

A reassessment of Gorn's (1982) study was carried out by Kellaris & Cox (1989). By seeking to replicate the conditions of Gorn's (1982) study but changing minor parts such as the music used or the colours of the pens, they found that Gorn's results were not replicated, leading them to conclude that the demand artefacts were influencing

the results and that the musical impact was far less than Gorn had concluded. Therefore, they rejected the notion of classical conditioning as proposed by Gorn describing it as an 'elusive phenomenon' and stated that their results casts doubts on the 'contention that product preferences can be conditioned reliably by a single exposure to appealing or unappealing music' (pp118).

Park & Young (1986) carried out an experiment in which a group of subjects were requested to learn about the effectiveness of a given type of shampoo. A second group was asked to imagine that they had no need to buy shampoo. It was hoped that this would create two groups of both high and low levels of involvement. When the latter group was shown an advertisement for shampoo, it was found that the music positively conditioned their attitude towards the brand. However, when the former group saw the advertisement, they concluded that the music had a distracting effect and lead to a lower brand attitude than with those advertisements that had no music.

MacInnis & Park (1991) have argued that music may positively influence consumers – in terms of their affective response to the product - when there is a musical fit which they define as corresponding 'with the consumers' subjective perceptions of the music's relevance or appropriateness to the central ad message' (pp162). They supported this statement by producing an advertisement with music that they claimed fitted with the advertisement. They concluded that musical fit had a powerful role in creating favourable ad and brand attitude (pp171) and also that musical fit had an equally strong effect on low-involvement and high-involvement subject's attention to the message (pp172). North & Hargreaves (1997a), in their analysis of the findings

suggested that 'the music works not by influencing affect towards the advertisement, but rather by conveying and activating relevant information' (pp273).

This returns the literature to the notion of prototypicality or musical fit (as discussed in section 2.4.4.3). Research by North & Law (2000) conducted for Capitol Radio advertising found that where the music fitted with the image purveyed in radio advertisements, the product type was 63% more likely to be recalled than those with non-fit music and 45% more likely than ads with no music. Brands were 96% more likely to be recalled than those with non-fit and 47% more than ads with no music. The claim of ads with fit was 80% more likely to be recalled than those with non-fit and 88% more than ads with no music. They also found that musical fit enhanced brand perception and that respondents were 36% more likely to 'like' the ad than music with non-fit music.

Alongside musical fit, MacInnis & Park (1991) also explored indexicality which they referred to as 'the extent to which music arouses emotion-laden memories' and noted that music with high indexicality induces strong emotions that are tied to past experiences (pp162). In their study they considered both indexicality and musical fit together and arrived at the conclusion that they both 'play a fundamental role in the processing of both high and low involvement consumers, influencing both message and non-message-based processing' (pp170).

Based on the notion of indexicality, Baumgartner (1992) problematised the existing practice of treating music as an autonomous entity; 'a happy piece of music could come to arouse sadness because of its association with a sad event. Furthermore, if

expressiveness in music is a consequence of its indexical function, music is stripped of any special status as the language of emotion because any other object could also become associated with a significant personal experience and induce emotional reactions' (pp613). Based upon this view he conducted a study in order to assess how readily people can bring to mind personal experiences that have become associated with a piece of music. His study was based upon giving a questionnaire to marketing undergraduate students, which asked them to give an example of music they associated with an autobiographical episode then to rate their feelings towards both the piece of music and personal experience. From his data he found a strong correlation between a person's evaluation of the piece of music and his or her evaluation of the autobiographical episode, and also evidence that people's ratings of the affective characteristics of the personal experience correspond to the feelings induced by hearing the piece of music (pp616). An implication of this study is that response to music is very much a subjective phenomenon that will vary according to individual life experience. Therefore to make generalisations about the impact of music as a stimulus will be difficult to account for because of this variance caused by indexicality.

It is worthwhile to refer indexicality back to Berlyne (1971) who would refer to such a phenomenon as being ecological. As such it would remain as part of a three way process of predicting response to music alongside psychophysical and collative elements. Whilst Berlyne did propose collative variables as being the most influential, Martindale & Moore (1989) have provided empirical evidence that Berlyne had underestimated the importance of ecological variables. Therefore, it might be accepted that in predicting people's responses to music in advertisements the

ecological variables, which will be subjective to each individual, must be accounted for before musical response can be predicted.

2.4.7 Discussion

As De Nora (2003) states, the marketing studies provide the site *par excellence* for evaluating the role of music as a means for social ordering due to sales allowing a very specific form of measurement. In the study of how music is employed within the retail servicescape, music is shown to be used to encourage customers to behave and even think in a specific way. Similarly in advertising music is used for a number of affective reasons such as a mnemonic cue, again structuring consciousness or to condition thought processes. This research provides supporting evidence to the concerns of Adorno & Horkheimer that music is being deployed as a means of imposing consciousness.

Sifting through the studies that have been conducted into the relationship between music and marketing can be a frustrating undertaking owing to the high level of conflicting findings. For example, the findings of Milliman (1982; 1986) have been cited as keynote findings (Bruner II, 1990; Oakes, 2000) yet the findings of his study were later challenged by Herrington & Capella (1996) who found contradictory results based on a relatively minor adjustment in the methodology. Furthermore Milliman's (1982) study has been criticised for failing to account for musical fit as a variable (Herrington and Capella, 1996), for treating tempo as an independent variable of music (Oakes, 2000) and for failing to take into consideration the impact of the background music upon employees (Blair and Kellaris, 1993). Similarly the results of Gorn's (1982) study into the use of music for classical conditioning were not

supported by Kellaris & Cox's reinvestigation (1989) and Kellaris was given a taste of his own medicine when his and Kent's findings relating to the impact of music upon time perception (1992) were challenged by North & Hargreaves (1999).

In accounting for this level of disagreement a number of explanations might be presented. First as models relating to the servicescape and retail atmospherics (Bitner, 1992; Kotler, 1974 respectively) identify, consumers judge retail spaces holistically therefore considering music without due regard for the whole context may be questionable. In terms of addressing this problematic, at least two new problematics occur. In the domain of musical fit there is the problem of identifying *why* one piece of music should fit with a context. While MacInnis & Park (1991) were able to select a piece of music for their test after a lengthy pilot study, other studies declare their selection to 'fit' with the context without undergoing the same hierarchical process (Herrington and Capella, 1996; Mattila and Wirtz, 2001; North and Hargreaves, 1996). The dramatic claim of Mattila & Wirtz (2001), for example, that a certain album would fit with the smell of a grapefruit shows how potentially archaic and intuitive the approach can be. Without any process through which music that fits a context can be selected that could bear replicability, the theory of musical fit seems at odds with the positivist approach and more congruent to an interpretive framework. Yet some of the dramatic results suggest that it may be the most important variable in accounting for response behaviour (Areni and Kim, 1993; MacInnis and Park, 1991; North and Law, 2000).

A second problematic is the seemingly infinite number of variables that are argued to be influential. For example a study into the impact of tempo may be criticised for

failing to account for the all-important change in modality (Herrington and Capella, 1996), whilst this approach would be criticised for failing to take into account the interdependence of all musical elements (Oakes, 2000), whilst that approach too would be criticised for failing to examine the congruency of the music to scent (Mattila and Wirtz, 2001), which in turn would be criticised for failing to take into consideration a large number of other influential factors (Turley and Milliman, 2000). Turley and Milliman list a number of such atmospheric stimuli which they conceptualise as leading to some cognitive affect within the individual, which in turn influences behavioural response (pp194). Their atmospheric variables are outlined in Table 4 (note the humble location of music within the wider scheme as point 2d).

1. External variables
    a. Exterior signs
    b. Entrances
    c. Exterior display windows
    d. Height of building
    e. Size of building
    f. Colour of building
    g. Surrounding stores
    h. Lawns and gardens
    i. Address and location
    j. Architectural style
    k. Surrounding area
    l. Parking availability
    m. Congestion and traffic
    n. Exterior walls
2. General interior variables
    a. Flooring and carpeting
    b. Colour schemes
    c. Lighting
    d. Music
    e. P.A. usage
    f. Scents
    g. Tobacco smoke
    h. Width of aisles
    i. Wall composition
    j. Paint and wall paper
    k. Ceiling composition
    l. Merchandise
    m. Temperature
    n. Cleanliness
3. Layout and design variables
    a. Space design and allocation
    b. Placement of merchandise
    c. Grouping of merchandise
    d. Work station placement
    e. Placement of equipment
    f. Placement of cash registers
    g. Waiting areas
    h. Waiting rooms
    i. Department locations
    j. Traffic flow
    k. Racks and cases
    l. Waiting queues
    m. Furniture
    n. Dead areas
4. Point-of-purchase displays
    a. Point-of-purchase displays
    b. Signs and cards
    c. Wall decorations
    d. Degrees and certificates
    e. Pictures
    f. Artwork
    g. Product displays
    h. Usage instructions
    i. Price displays
    j. Teletext
5. Human variables
    a. Employee characteristics
    b. Employee uniforms
    c. Crowding
    d. Customer characteristics
    e. Privacy

Table 4 (Milliman & Turley, 2000) List of atmospheric variables

Table 4 demonstrates the overwhelmingly large number of variables that ought to be taken in consideration when conducting an experiment. Indeed the list could be considerably longer; Oakes broke music down into compositional variables; volume,

tempo, harmony and mode and genre variables such as classical, pop, jazz (Oakes, 2000) – brief consideration could double the number of variables in both cases. A further table which demonstrates the large number of variables that can be accounted for was provided by Herrington & Capella (1994) and is provided in the table below:

Shopper Behaviour	Tempo	Volume	Mode	Pitch	Rhythm	Harmony	Affective Preference
Store image							
Shopper mood							+
Employee performance							+
Employee/ service evaluation							+
Psychological costs							+
Time spent	+	-					
Purchase amount	+	x					
Patronage							

Key: + positive relationship
- negative relationship
x tested but no relationship found

Table 5 (Herrington & Capella, 1994) Background music variables

Again, many other elements have been left out, for example, a significant difference was found between the presence of instrumental versus vocal versions of popular music in advertising (Roehm, 2001). If Herrington & Capella's (1994) table was to be cross tabulated with Turley & Milliman's (2000), the outcome would be a huge table of almost biblical proportions. Should all of the elements be somehow provided for in this super-table, then would we be closer to arriving at a formula for the usage of music in background? This research would suggest 'no' because the ecological variables, which have been described as hugely influential of the music (Berlyne, 1971; Martindale and Moore, 1989), which are unique to each person are overlooked

(Baumgartner, 1992) and as Blair & Kellaris (1993) identified, increases in sales where music occurs may be attributable to improved sales staff performance rather than any customer behavioural response caused directly by the music. Indeed this point was reinforced by Turley & Milliman (2000) who stated in their analysis of the experimental evidence regarding the atmospheric effects on shopping behaviour:

> The physical environment interacts with the characteristics of individuals to determine their response. Therefore, an atmosphere that produces a certain response in any one individual or group of people at a given point in time may produce an entirely different response in another individual or group. For example, an atmosphere that produces a positive response in teenagers may produce a negative response in older shoppers. Second, the stores' atmosphere influences both the customers and the store's employees, who, in turn, through their interactions, influence each other. As can be seen from their table, 'there are several possible responses exhibited by the customers that can work collectively or severally (pp194).

So far the discussion has suggested that the following problematics severely disrupt the possibility of drawing meaningful results:

- The vague nature of what constitutes musical fit
- Many studies fail to consider the prototypicality of the music to its context
- The seemingly infinite numbers of variables that make up the physical context that ought to be accounted for
- Treating elements of music as though they are independent of one another is a mistake
- That psychophysical and collative elements of the music have been focused on to the neglect of the ecological elements
- There is confusion as to whether the increase in sales can be attributed to the improved performance of employees or to an affective behavioural response of the customers caused by the music

A further observation is that there are few marketing writers who have been influenced by the aesthetic psychobiologist and music social psychology discourses with few writers citing Berlyne in their literature review. This is despite the fact that he is lauded as being a key writer outside of the discipline of marketing (see Martindale and Moore, 1989; North and Hargreaves, 1997b; Simonton, 1997). The ignorance of a wider and probably more theoretically robust approach to researching music creates the danger that the marketing studies have been trying to 're-invent the wheel'.

However such problems are not limited to the marketing discipline. The growing recognition of the importance of musical fit or prototypicality undermines the theory of Berlyne, as was evidenced by Martindale & Moore (1989). As North & Hargreaves, who can be regarded as bridging the disciplines of consumer behaviour and music social psychology, a weakness of past experimental aesthetics studies is that they have not regarded their phenomenon with reference to the context in which it occurs and they argue that music social psychologists could do well to consider the consumer research literature which does not make this mistake (North and Hargreaves, 1997a). Therefore a further conclusion from this part of the literature review has been that neither music social psychologists nor consumer behaviour researchers have gained by ignoring each other's work and to this the work of North & Hargreaves is an honourable exception.

2.4.7.1 Art v Science

A further criticism, or rather an attempted explanation as to why there is such discrepancy between the research findings when minor adjustments are made to methodology, is to consider the standard approach of treating music as a stimulus. This approach denies music its status as an aesthetic object but rather reduces it to being a tool for influencing behaviour; as Bruner (1990) wrote; 'appropriately structured music acts on the nervous system like a key on a lock, activating brain processes with corresponding emotional reactions' (pp94). Berlyne employed similar rhetoric; 'psychologists have come to realise that the behaviour they study depends on biological processes' (Berlyne, 1971:pp8).

This research questions the suitability of such an approach for the study of music. In a provocative article, Brown (1996) considers the viewpoint that marketing has been wrongly viewed as a scientific pursuit and after over fifty years of positivist studies he invites the reader to believe that the 'holy grail of market science has not been achieved' (pp252):

> In endeavouring to evaluate and derive some lessons from the past 50 years of the great 'marketing: art or science?' debate, this paper has come to the regrettable yet inevitable conclusion that much of post-war marketing scholarship has proved to be a complete waste of time and effort, a heroic but utterly wrongheaded attempt to acquire the unnecessary trappings of 'science', a self-abusive orgy of mathematical masturbation which has rendered us philosophically blind, intellectually deaf and spiritually debilitated. (pp260).

Whilst the above quotation certainly bears the trademark controversy attached to the writings of Stephen Brown, it is tempting to arrive at a similar conclusion, that the marketing research of the instance of music in marketing unquestionably adopted a scientific perspective which has failed to deliver anything more than very limited progress in our understanding. As was briefly explored, aestheticists such as Kant believe that any understanding of art must begin from a subjective perspective rather

than the objective approach adopted by scientific studies which Brown criticises with his usual litany of adjectives;

> Science, to put it crudely, is seen as cold, calculating, austere, authoritarian, sterile, inhuman, uncontrollable, Frankenseinian, deceptive, self-serving, patriarchal, rapacious, destructive and downright dangerous. It is a force for human immiseration rather than liberation. It is morally bankrupt, spiritually bereft and intellectually barren. (pp251)

This returns us to the very start of chapter one and Adorno's (2002d) dialectic of culture versus administration which actively problematises the combination of art and science as 'lacking a common denominator' (pp107), and an example of what he called the 'objective spirit' of the era marked by scientists 'looking down from on high, to assemble, distribute, evaluate and organise' (pp107), similar to Berlyne's goal of predicting, controlling and explaining (Berlyne, 1971:pp3). This is antithetical to the world of culture which is seen to be 'higher and more pure, something untouchable which cannot be tailored according to any tactical or technical considerations... as the manifestation of pure humanity without regard for its functional relationships within society' (pp108). In this sense the culture and administration dialectic mirrors the nature of the tension between art and science. Whilst the two forms exist together in a dialectic, their irreconcilability is a matter that Adorno (2000d) drew attention towards:

> The twisted feeling of irreconcilability in the relation of culture and administration is characteristic of the situation. It bears witness to the continuing antagonistic character of a world which is growing ever more unified. The demand made by administration upon culture is essentially heteronymous: culture – no matter what form it takes – is to be measured by norms not inherent to it and which have nothing to do with the quality of the object, but rather with some type of abstract standards imposed from without, while at the same time the administrative instance – according to its own prescriptions and nature – must for the most part refuse to become involved in questions of immanent quality which regard the truth of the thing itself or its objective bases in general. Such expansion of administrative competence into a region, the idea of which contradicts every kind of average generality inherent to the concept of administrative norms, is itself irrational, alien to the

> immanent ratio of the object – for example, to the quality of art – and a matter of coincidence as far as culture is concerned. (pp113)

The implication of Adorno's dialectic is that the study of culture ought not to be made the object of the administrative urge to control. The attempt of the above studies to arrive at a positivist understanding of how music interacts with marketing must therefore be considered as part of the heteronymous condition described by Adorno. Just as he described, music is being measured by norms not inherent to it and which have nothing to do with the quality of the object. Therefore, if music and marketing are to be researched together, any attempt to render music as a subject of consumption ought to be deeply considered.

In this sense the clash of civilisations described by both Adorno and Brown suggest that the scientific approach towards marketing and music assumes a mixture of irreconcilable paradigms and therefore represents an approach destined to failure. An implication of this art versus science debate is that we may never arrive at any methodology which will serve the positivist and objectivist goal of predicting, controlling and explaining the impact of music as that refers to the imposition of administrative logic upon that which is necessarily cultural. This perspective is offered as a further explanation for the large discrepancy and contradiction in the studies investigated.

So far the chapter has considered scientific and positivist treatments of music and marketing. By contrast the research shall now consider the impact of the interpretive tradition.

2.5 An Interpretive Framework Considered

Section 2.4 has explored the scientific instances of how music is used in marketing contexts and has problematised the attempts made to understand the processes. This section now considers the use of music as a sign used to connote values to the audience. In this, there is an overlap between section 2.4 and 2.5 typified by the theory surrounding musical fit – defined as the 'consumer's subjective perceptions of the music's relevance or appropriateness to the central ad message' (MacInnis and Park, 1991:pp162). Music fit moved the theory away from considering the psychophysical elements of the music and closer towards the ecological variables and it is within this domain that this section focuses on. However, the main point of departure which characterises the difference between section 2.4 and 2.5 is that whereas section 2.4 considered the scientific and positivist approach to music, section 2.5 shall be typified by an interpretive framework.

The points of departure between interpretive and positivist consumer research studies were explored by Ozanne & Anderson Hudson (1989) who started from the following point of distinction: 'interpretative researchers reject the idea that consumers can be studied like the physical world and instead generally hold that researchers must consider the meaning of the phenomena from the perspective of the consumers involved' (pp1). The central goal of interpretivists, according to Ozanne & Anderson Hudson, is *understanding* which involves 'grasping the individual and shared meanings' (pp2). Therefore, the interpretive tradition belongs to a subjective rather than objective world view. They represent the main points of distinction in the following table:

Basic Assumptions	**Definition**	**Positivist**	**Interpretive**
Axiological	Overriding goal	**Explanation**	Understanding
Ontological	Nature of reality	Objective, tangible, single,	Socially constructed,

		fragmentable, divisible	multiple, holistic, contextual
Ontological	Nature of social beings	Deterministic, reactive	Voluntaristic, proactive
Epistemological	Knowledge generated	Nomothetic, time-free, context independent	Idiographic, timebound, context dependent
Epistemological	View of causality	Real causes exist	Multiple, simultaneous shaping
Epistemological	Research relationship	Dualism, separation, privileged point of observation	Interactive, cooperative, no privileged point of observation

Table 6 (Ozanne & Hudson, 1989) Interpretivism V Positivism

As this literature review presents studies which take different research perspectives, it is perhaps more useful to take a broad view of the interpretative paradigm based on Burrell & Morgan's (1979) definition of the interpretive paradigm as seeing the world 'as emergent social process created by the individual's involved, it is a network of assumptions and intersubjectively shared meanings' (pp24). Adopting Burrell & Morgan's wide definition of intepretivism allows this section to accept other perspectives, such as, phenomenology and hermeneutics within the interpretive paradigm in order to review their contribution to the use of music as a means of control.

2.5.1 Music as a Resource

De Nora (2000) considered a phenomenological perspective of the role of music in everyday life. Her approach does not focus on listening to music as an aesthetic

activity, but rather as something that people use as a resource for the construction of self-identity and also for agency cues. Therefore, it is not the elements of the music that act as the stimulus but rather the listeners' interaction with the music which causes effect. This interaction is far more dynamic than that which is offered by the marketing and consumer research studies. For example, she outlines how one respondent, Susie, would become very emotional when hearing *Impromtus* by Schubert. From her interviews it emerged that this music had become associated with childhood memories of her father who played the piano while she drifted asleep upstairs. She also noted how Susie listened to the piece in a specific space which was a quiet room in a rocking chair. From this De Nora noted how Susie's response to the music was mediated by a number of factors including her personal associations and memories incurred by the music which meant that not only did the music 'embody musical calm, but because they restore to Susie a sense of her own identity' (pp41). Secondly De Nora found it significant that Susie chose to listen to the music in a quiet place, 'The point is that music's power to 'soothe' derives not only from the musical 'stimulus' but from the ways in which Susie appropriates that music, the things she brings to it, the context in which it is set. Susie did not, for example, listen to the music while scrubbing the kitchen floor or while working out on an exercise bike' (pp42). This approach shows that the interaction between people and music can be far more dynamic than can be allowed for by the stimulus response models of aesthetic psychobiology and similar approaches outlined in section 2.4.

A further interpretation of how people interact with music was provided by Shankar (2000) who considered how people relate with their record collection. He noted how people used popular music to 'help us make sense of our world and our place in it

and, through the process of grounded aesthetics, can help us to construct our own identity or sense of self' (pp29). Using a method of subjective personal introspection, he considered how he used music to construct his own identity in a way that served the dialectic of wanting to both fit in and be different, and also how his tastes in music were important in hoping to overcome and understand his confused cultural identity. Similar to De Nora (2000), Shankar (2000) noted how he used music to achieve mood based goals, or as a cue for agency; 'I used to listen to this sort of stuff as kind of early Saturday evening or Friday evening music, before you went out, to get you going for the evening' (pp34). He also used his music as a point of reference when socialising with friends: 'I listened to this stuff a lot on my own, in my room but also with very close intimate friends. We used to go round to each other's house and listen to music, talk, argue, smoke dope – that kind of thing really' (pp34). Again the multi-dimensional way in which people interact and appropriate music for their purposes is illustrated through Shankar's work.

Just as Shankar (2000) used music to mediate his mood on weekend nights, De Nora (2000) found that women employed music as a cue for agency. So for example, aggressive and fast tempo music would be used at a gymnasium during aerobic exercises, and she found that shop owners would carefully select music in order to communicate to customers the nature of their business. Similarly she found that women, when listening to music on their own, would carefully select recordings that match their state of mind and mood.

Similarly Borgerson & Schroeder (2003) illustrate how Hawaiian music, in conjunction with Hawaiian album sleeve designs, has come to offer a substitute for an

actual journey to Hawaii and by extension, a resource for imagining paradise: 'the simple steel guitar strains of *Lovely Hula Hands* instantly evoke white sand, blue ocean, palm trees blowing in a warm breeze and the hula girl' (pp233). They conclude that this music becomes part of the packaging of Hawaii as both place and imagined retroscape become part of Hawaii's brand image that include sensations and memories of places, people and particular eras. A second study which shows how music signifies paradise and creates a retroscape is MacLaran's (2003) study of how shoppers described the use of a piano in a restored shopping centre in Dublin:

> Their memories richly convey how the piano enhanced their overall feelings of elsewhereness, of being somewhere that was a little more exclusive and culturally superior to other shopping centres. Tucked away from the hurley-burley of the busy Dublin streets, shielded from the hustle and bustle, Powerscourt was a refuge, an 'oasis' and a 'haven' from the main rush of shoppers on nearby Grafton Street. Striking a resonant, yet relaxing chord in many a harassed shopper's breast, the piano accentuated this difference, this sense of having entered a better place. Its gentle strains soothed and calmed, transporting its listeners far away from everyday cares and worries to a place of 'rest and serenity', a place that relaxed and calmed the mind. (pp97)

Thus the use of the piano in this store was to create an atmosphere that epitomised a nostalgic quality to the shopping therein; the grandeur of Georgian Dublin and Anglo-Irish life evoked through this historic retroscape. Furthermore MacLaran argues that at an existential level, the piano illustrates a utopia that springs from deep within the human psyche to give expression to the human need for rootedness as well as transcendence (pp108).

This perspective then holds that music is used as a form of social ordering; 'an aesthetic means through which consumer agency is articulated, changed and sustained' (De Nora and Belcher, 2000:pp82). In this sense the social control can either emanate from outside sources, such as a shop, or the consumer can be empowered to select music themselves and thus create their own musicscape that they

can use to create their own social order. For example, De Nora (2000) notes how some women were using Enya's music during sexual intercourse and Borgerson & Schroeder (2003) noted how music was used by listeners to signify utopia. De Nora & Belcher (2002), in their study of how women interacted with music in shopping contexts, noted how music came to aestheticise the environment; 'shops are increasingly transformed into purveyors of virtual realities; they are increasingly places one might visit, like a museum or a gallery to become acquainted with a stance, a set of attitudes, an ambience or a style of being' (pp90).

In this context, Bull (2002) explored how people create their own private 'soundworld' (pp81) or 'intimate, manageable aestheticsed spaces in which they are increasingly able to, and desire to live' (pp82) through their use of walkmans. As such, Bull examined what he considered to be the underlying magic inherent in the ability to aestheticise space and reflected upon the image of Fitzcarraldo aestheticising the Amazonian jungle as a function of his own imagination mediated through the sound of Carouso's voice, made possible by his bellowing music from a phonograph. Fitzcarraldo was interpreted as a coloniser of space and experience as he used sound to recreate and tame the spaces he inhabited in his image (pp86). Therefore part of the function of a soundworld is, according to Bull, to transport the listener "out of his or her domestic boredom into the magical realm of communion with the 'far' away and enticing sounds of the radio" (pp86), and also to repossess their spaces of habitation in order to make them conform to their desires (pp87). 'Through the power of sound' he claims, 'the world becomes intimate, known and possessed' (pp87).

In his ethnography of Walkman users, Bull (2002) notes how some listeners had a sense of escaping the reciprocal gaze of passer-bys. For example two responses were: 'It's easier to have eye contact with people, because you can look but you're listening to something else' and 'I feel a bit more confident. So I just stare at them' (pp88). Bull interpreted such responses as describing a process through which "sound 'looking' becomes both voyeuristic and omnipotent" (pp88) whereby the viewing person 'disappears' into an unobserved gaze and becomes detached from the surroundings. Bull wrote, "the environment becomes re-appropriated and experienced as part of the user's desire. Through listening to her music the listener gets more out of the environment, not by interacting with it, but precisely by not interacting with it" (pp92). Walkman users, he found, often felt uncomfortable when the music stopped; 'switching off becomes tantamount to killing off their private world and returning them to the diminished space and duration of the disenchanted and mundane outside world. Users *need* their Walkmans in everyday life'. (pp95). In this sense, it could be argued that not only are Walkman users engaged with colonising landscape but they are also being colonised in the process as what Bull describes as, the fragility of the space becomes'occupied by signifiers of an imaginary and reassuring presence in the form of chosen sound' (pp96).

Similarly Cronin (2002) argues that our contemporary landscape has become colonised by sound; ranging from car alarms to the saturation of almost all public spaces with piped music. He poses the question; why does contemporary society need so much music – 'from the incessant classic hits on the airwaves to the in-store Vivaldi punctuated by special offers and summonses to the check-out?' (pp5). His

conclusion was that 'music in its public (loudspeakers) or private (walkman) form becomes a way of erecting a barrier between the self and the outside':

> Using volume as a way of controlling the uncontrollable, whether it be the random violence of criminal assault or economic redundancy. In a period of accelerated change, the relentless predictability of taped music is seen less as another form of unprovoked (aural) aggression than as consoling and reassuring in its thump-thump sameness. The loudness of contemporary society is eloquent in its way of expressing countless silent fears. As individuals and societies become increasingly unsure of their ends, and are wholly devoted to augmenting their means, then music becomes both a barrier and a comforter. (pp5).

In this sense music is being used as a barrier to other people, a similar phenomenon to how Bull showed people using their Walkman to avoid interacting with their environment. This brings the discussion of the use of music away from aesthetisiation of space through colonisation and towards an alienating and reifying process. Cronin (2002) elaborates:

> Although music has traditionally been a communal activity in its performance (the band, the orchestra) and reception (the concert hall, the school disco), music is more and more a way of confining humans to individual, monadic worlds where communication runs the risk of being as worthless as it is wordless. It is almost as if automation empties the everyday lifeworld of human contact and thus generates more solitude, our public spaces are flooded with music to deal with the anxiety and fretfulness of the solitary consumer. For the lone rangers of late modernity more music means less talk, but because there is less talk, there must be more and more music to hide the fact that there is less and less talk. (pp6)

A common theme, then, emerging from both Cronin (2002) and Bull (2002) is a fear of silence, a *need* for noise – as one respondent told Bull: 'It's like when you're in a pub and they stop the music. It's an anticlimax. Everyone just stops. You don't know what to say' (pp95). Cronin (2002) suggests that the phenomenon may be accounted for by thanatophobia, a morbid fear of death; 'silencing the sound of silence, a silence seen as synonymous with death, becomes an imperative' (pp6).

A further critical analysis of the role of background music was provided by Adorno (2002f) who considered music in the background to be 'exiled music herself, pushed to the edge of existence' (pp506). Similar to Cronin and Bull, Adorno described the use of background music as part of a process of alienation. However unlike Bull and De Nora, who saw the use of music applied to contexts as an aestheticisation of space, Adorno saw it as an experience devoid of aesthetic experiences and instead a process of reification:

> In *forte* passages, the music climbs likes a rocket. Its arcs glisten over the listeners until they sit there, abandoned once more, in the grey of their cigarette puffs. They are not an audience. Scarcely will one of them comment on the quality of the music that is offered. Nor are they in a musical mood. The music scarcely touches their inner stirrings. Rather it is an objective event among them, above them. The coldness from table to table; the strangeness between the young gentleman and the unknown girl across from him, who waits for the looks that will give her permission to be offended. All of this is not, for the life of you, eliminated by the music, but instead caught up and bound together. (pp507)

A clear departure between the studies of Adorno (2000f) and Cronin (2002) with De Nora (2000), Borgerson & Schroeder (2003), MacLaran (2003), Shankar (2000) and Bull (2002), is the critical dimension introduced into their work. Whereas the latter authors describe a process in which people are empowered by the music (though Bull did note that Walkman users both colonised and *were* colonised), Cronin and Adorno clearly saw the provision of music in this way as an incident of alienation and reification. Again the important ontological difference is whether people see the instance of background music as something people *do* with music or something *done* to people through music.

An interesting illustration of this difference in ontology was provided by De Nora who in a more recent text (De Nora, 2003), returned to her data regarding women's shopping behaviour and deconstructed her own behaviour as researcher.

24 January 1998	**Small city, UK**	**12:30pm, upmarket chain store**
Time in seconds	**Shopper (Annette, 24)**	**Shadower (De Nora)**
0	It's quite relaxing	…perhaps not
2		
4	These are nice	
6		
8	Too much lolly though	
10		
12 14	Too long	
16		
18		
20		
22	**Oh that's a YUMMY jumper!**	**Certainly, *I* would like to come back here later!**
24		
26		
28		
30		
32	Mmm. Sixty five pounds	
34		
36		
38	A black one as well	
40		
42		
44		
46	Mmm. It's definitely George Michael.	

Table 7 De Nora (2003) Shadow research report

In this study, De Nora employed a research technique which she described as, 'shadowing' whereby volunteers would be wired for sound and then encouraged to think aloud whilst shopping. Meanwhile the researcher would also be wired and would shadow the respondent, at all time commenting on their behaviour. The two tapes could then be synchronised during transcription so to give an account of both 'inside' accounts of in-store behaviour plus 'outside' observations of what it looked like. She retrospectively describes herself as having become carried away with her 'private-eye in the making' (pp11) role and was generally disappointed with the data. However, when transcribing she noticed certain interesting omissions which she describes as 'researcher failure' (pp111) such as the one represented above and she came to regard what happened to herself as socio-musically interesting.

She describes herself as unwittingly becoming part of the research subject, indeed it can be noted that she says that *she* would like to return to the shop *herself.* The background music in this particular phase was the love ballad *Waiting* by George Michael. De Nora believes that both she and the respondent became engaged with the music and were drawn into the setting – a setting which she took as having a large degree of 'fit' between image and music. Unlike encounters in previous stores, De Nora describes her voice in the tape as becoming more 'softer, more highly pitched, more stereotypically feminine than the dull, clip and gruff monotone that I had employed up until arriving... It began, moreover, to linger on words and trail off or upwards in pitch at the end of phrases' (pp113). In short De Nora (2003) argues that she had adapted her voice to the tenor of the particular aesthetic space; 'in other words, I can point to a specific and grounded moment when an actor's (my own) conduct shifted in 'cooperation' with an aesthetic space.. I suggest that in this space at

this time it was possible to hear in my voice and in the words I uttered on tape, my taking pleasure in and adapting to, a spatially aesthetically implied persona – a more 'feminine' type of actor (and jettisoning a prior role commitment)' (pp113-4).

Of particular note was the synchrony between herself and respondent (see Table 7 on 22 seconds), despite their physical separation where they both uttered 'the most enthusiastic comments made by either of us during the entire exercise' (pp115). These utterances coincided with a melodic phrase of the song whereby the song moves into climax and George Michael's voice begins to break slightly on a high note. In the absence of any other sudden stimulus in the shop at that moment, De Nora suggests that 'these were, for both of us, moments when we experienced a kind of energy boost, an emotional surge. I think that these separate but synchronised moments *may* be attributable to the music at that point' (pp115). She concludes:

> We can speak about music in time and its link to subjectivity in time. Music, in other words, is not just related to emotional 'states' (in other words stable patterns of feeling, being and doing) and how we shift from one to another state, but is implicated in the constant *fluctuation* of subjectivity, in the heightening and diminishing of feeling and in the mercurial character of subjectivity in time. Music is, in short, linked to the embodied features of experience and to the flux of their social organisation. In conjunction with other features of space, it may be linked to particular identifiable modes of action. (pp116-7)

The work of De Nora provides some empirical research which can be placed in conjunction with the more scientific papers outlined in section 2.4 to show how music can be influential as a means of social control.

2.5.2 Music as Sign

An important dimension which remains central to any discussion is the notion of fit between music and marketing activity. This is because, as demonstrated in section

2.2.4.3 by studies such as North & Law (2000), the importance of the degree of fit between music and context has been identified as highly influential and this was supported by the interpretive studies of De Nora and Belcher (2000). According to Goldman and Papson (1996) there has been a movement in the use of music in advertising away from composing jingles and towards advertisers seeking permission for a license to use an existing track from the copyright holder (this process of 'licensing' is explained in section 3.4.2). Whereas the jingle would rely on boosting recall (as well as the other functions referred to in chapter one), now the music 'must draw on (import) an outside referent system' (pp70): 'ads now aim to transfer or exchange value from the music to the product' (pp70). This suggests that musical fit shall occur not when the music is appropriate to the psychophysical nature of the advertised product or service, but rather appropriate to the sign value which the product is seeking to associate with. As one store manager told De Nora and Belcher in their study of clothes shops, 'the music is to get people into the mood of the style of the clothes and the store image' (pp96).

In exploring the issue of how advertisers use music as a sign, it is useful to first discuss the instance of signification in advertising.

2.5.2.1 Signification in Advertising

As a broad concept signification in advertising has been considered in a number of ways. O'Donohoe (1997) referred to intertextuality, defined by Berger as 'the conscious or unconscious use in one text of material from others' (Berger, 1981, cited by O'Donohoe, 1997:pp234). O'Donohoe states that the concept also includes decoding in terms of how meanings generated from one text are determined partly by

the meaning of others. The exchange of meaning therefore becomes a two way process and she gives the example of how a piece of classical music used in a Hovis ad was regarded by an interviewee as being the 'Hovis song now' (pp245).

Baudrillard (1998) describes the process of consumption as a logical and intertextual flow where the purchase of one product leads to the purchase of another. This changes the relationship between the consumer and the object so that the consumer 'no longer relates to a particular object in its specific utility, but to a set of objects in its total signification' (pp127). On this basis the meaning of the object changes, for example a fridge, a dishwasher and a washing machine take on a new meaning when considered together as opposed to their being regarded individually as appliances. Therefore the signification value is all-important in the exchange process. 'It is the difference' according to Tomlinson 'between buying an object mainly for its functions, and acquiring an item for its style' (Tomlinson, 1990:pp9).

Where there is extensive cross-referencing between different means of communication there is what Baudrillard (1998) describes as a 'chain of signifiers' (pp27). One respondent commented during O'Donohoe's (1997) research that when looking through *GQ*, the men's magazine, 'it's hard to tell what's an ad in here or not' (pp246). Thus the chain of signifiers acts as a self-perpetuating cycle where relics are being recycled from culture by advertising and vice-versa.

2.5.3 Ideology in Advertising

According to Williamson (1988), the process of selling involves a meaning process in that not only must advertisements seek to communicate the inherent qualities and

attributes of what is being sold but also to try and make those properties *mean something to us* (pp12). She gives the example of a car with high miles per gallon ratio (mpg); "this could be translated in terms of thriftiness, the user being a 'clever' saver, in other words *being a certain kind of person* (Williamson's italics). Or if the mpg was low, the ad could appeal to the 'above money pettiness', daredevil kind of person who is too 'trendy' to be economising" (pp12). In other words the factual use-value information such as the mpg is transformed in advertising into a human statement; "they are given a humanly symbolic 'exchange value'" (pp12). Williamson therefore describes advertising as a process through which lifestyle and object become interchangeable: 'advertisements are selling us something else besides consumer goods; in providing us with a structure in which we, and those goods, are interchangeable, they are selling us ourselves' (pp13).

The overlay, according to Williamson, is ideology which she defines as 'the meaning made necessary by the conditions of society while helping to perpetuate those conditions' (pp13) whilst De Botton (2004) defines an ideological statement as 'one that is engaged in subtly pushing a partial line while pretending to be speaking neutrally' (pp214). According to De Botton's view, ideology cannot be seen to be forceful and hence is insidious; 'ideology is released into society like a colourless, odourless gas. It is embedded in newspapers, advertisements, television programmes and textbooks' (pp214-5).

To this extent, Williamson claims that all advertising is ideological and in her seminal text *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising* (1988) she undertakes to identify the means by which ideology is established through the use of

advertising. For example, she states that people probably do not believe that the minor ingredient being advertised will transform their casserole into a cordon-bleu dish, but 'the images of the grateful, hungry, appreciative husband and son tucking into a hearty meal provided to them by the woman, stay long after the actual claims made on behalf of the product have been forgotten' (pp175). It is this process which is, like De Botton claims, largely invisible and it is almost impossible to control significance transfer: 'there is no way of getting at their use of images and symbols... therefore advertisements will always escape any criticism of them which bases its argument on their deceitfulness or even their harm in being 'capitalist', 'sexist', etc. Not that these criticisms are invalid: but they by-pass the ideology of the way in which ads work' (pp175).

In support of the claim that advertising is effective in establishing an ideology that promotes consumption, De Botton (2004) provides the following table which illustrates the growing sense of materialism through which 'what was once a possibility will, with sufficient prompting, come to seem a necessity' (pp205).

Percentage of North Americans Declaring the Following Items to be Necessities

	1970	**2000**
Second car	20%	59%
Second television	3%	45%
More than one television	2%	78%
Car air-conditioning	11%	65%
Home air-conditioning	22%	70%
Dishwasher	8%	44%

Table 8 (De Botton, 2004) Growing sense of materialism

An important aspect of how advertising maintains this ideology, according to Williamson is in re-directing oppositional signs. For example, she shows how

revolutionary images become incorporated into advertising messages such as the use of the iconic image of Che Guevara on cigarette billboards in USA (Williamson, 1988:pp171). Williamson describes this as a system where 'everything means something else, and nothing is what it is' (pp170). She describes the process through which imagery 'whose actual content and body of thought is hostile to advertising and might seem completely alien to it' become incorporated into the ideology:

> The more hostile, the better use advertising can make of it, for its recuperation from criticism then seems all the more miraculous and inevitable. To take just one example, the movement of 'Women's Lib' has provided advertisements, one of the most sexist fields of communications there is, with a vast amount of material which actually enhances their sexist stance. (pp170)

To this effect she gives the example of an advertisement for an aftershave where a woman is beating a man at chess. When he becomes check-mated, he puts on aftershave at which point the woman becomes so wildly attracted to him that she leaps up, knocks over the table and jumps on him 'like a wild animal' (pp170). She writes:

> Far from the effect being to make us realise how inadequate the man is if he cannot stand being beaten at chess by a woman, her 'cool' and intelligence and obviously 'liberated' image are in fact to devalue themselves: because the point is that even a cool, 'dominating' woman, an intellectual threat to a man, even she will become little more than an animal, and a captivated one, on smelling Censored cologne for men. It is obviously more of an achievement to win over a 'liberated' woman than one who was submissive all along. Many ads are based on this sort of line: 'she's liberated *but*...' (pp171)

Williamson thus describes a process through which feminism, as an oppositional discourse become re-routed in accordance with upholding the ideology of consumption. Goldman, Heath & Smith (1991) describe this process as 'the semiotic reductionism of political discourse into lifestyle ingredients' (pp340). According to Goldman et al, advertisers achieve this by signifying feminism as a style; they 'assemble signs which connote independence, participation in the work force, individual freedom, and self-control' (pp337) hence reducing feminism to a 'semiotic

abstraction' – a set of visual symbols that tell you what they are. The force of feminism is reduced, they argue, because it now acts as a 'mere signifier or signified' (pp336) which can be re-encoded by an advertiser as something that can be worn as a stylised sign:

> In this way, feminism has now been rehabilitated for the world of advertising – its primary meanings taken over by the system of fashion, and some of its most important alternative formulations translated back into the language of the Western male ethic of possessive individualism (pp336).

This process illustrates not only how advertising acts as an invisible purveyor of ideology in its own right, but also seeks to appropriate and hence negate oppositional discourses. As Williamson states, the way advertising 're-absorbs all critical material is alarmingly fast. This incorporation is also, however, increasingly subtle' (pp178).

An important question here is what constitutes critical material in the first instance? Noting that the nature of counter-culture and its implications for marketing and consumer society have virtually been ignored, Desmond, McDonagh & O'Donohoe (2000) explored the nature of counter culture including how it becomes mediated by mainstream culture. Based on their reading of Hegel's Lord-Bondsman's tale, the authors contextualise counter-cultural in three frames. The first is that 'in making a claim to recognition and identity, a counter-culture movement seeks to create around itself the myth that it is the *real, true, authentic* counter-culture' (pp244). Second is the mediation of counter-culture whereby there is an 'intense drive' to incorporate counter-culture by taming it and reproducing it. The third and final frame emerges, they write, as the second frame is pushed to an extreme; 'if culture is mediated, then perhaps the driving tendency behind counter-culture is not identity or sameness but othering or difference. Just as Williamson (1988) and Goldman *et al* (1991) noted how oppositional discourses became absorbed into the commodification process,

Desmond *et al* (2000) note how mass media simulate images of counter-culture and circulate them within media discourse as just another referent system for the composition of style (pp261). They note how within advertising brands routinely base themselves on anti-hero referent system and give the example of Sprite who 'de-bunk the consumerism on which they rely for their survival', 'adbusters' parodic 'anti-advertising' may, they argue, simply be regarded as another form of advertising (pp261).

Another way of accounting for this phenomenon was provided by Firat & Venkatesh (1993) when they described the trend within the emergence of postmodernity towards the paradoxical juxtaposition of opposites. Just as they noted that talk show hosts would propose fondness of their guests through slight ridicule, they felt the same juxtaposition was taking place in the use of music in retail (pp237):

> ... where the consumer may be buying shoes while listening to live classical music. Piped in music has been replaced by something more authentic, and as such a juxtaposition – high art and mundane consumption – has become a matter of fact event.

Once again in this sense music is presented as an antithesis to consumption and with this in mind it is useful to consider the role of music in advertising in terms of ideology. Some authors have taken the view that music holds a counter-cultural or resistant property (Adorno, 2002d; Becker, 1991; Frith and Horne, 1987for further discussion see section 3.4.1.2) and it is worthwhile to consider this dimension in order to explore if the instance of music in advertising serves the ideology of consumption in the context of a counter-culture being re-routed in a similar process to how Williamson (1988) and Goldman *et al* (1991) described the transformation of feminism into a sign for consumption practices. To explore this idea, a special

illustration is taken of the use of the song *Revolution* by the Beatles in an advertisement for Nike.

2.5.3.1 Illustration of Ideology in Advertising – Nike's revolution

In 1987 Nike achieved a watershed when they became the first company to license a Beatles song from Capitol Records when they used the song *Revolution* as part of their $7 million TV ad campaign (Weiner, 1991) incurring, as Phil Knight, Nike CEO recalls, 'a ton of criticism'(McCarthy, 2003:pp1). The Beatles record label Apple, sued Nike and the surviving musicians issued the following statement: 'The Beatles position is that they don't sing jingles to peddle sneakers, beer, pantyhose or anything else. Their position is that they wrote and recorded these songs as artists and not as pitchmen for any product' (Dowlding, 1989:pp208). Angry Beatles fans wrote letters to Nike objecting to the co-optation (Scott, 1994). In a recent article in *The Nation,* former drummer for the Doors John Densmore said it 'cut me to the core when I heard John Lennon's *Revolution* selling tennis shoes... and Nikes to boot! That song was the soundtrack to part of my youth, when the streets were filled with passionate citizens' (Densmore, 2002:pp3). Whilst songs were regularly being used in advertisements, this was a special case as Weiner wrote at the time 'does anyone care that the Fifth Dimension's *Up, Up and Away* has become a TWA commercial? But the *Revolution* ad is different. The song had a meaning that Nike is destroying' (Weiner, 1991/1987:pp293). He regarded the ad as 'the most outrageous example of a familiar aspect of pop culture in the later age of Reagan' (pp292).

Whilst the instance of Nike's appropriation of *Revolution* is peppered by the unusual dynamics involved in the relationship between Yoko Ono, Paul McCartney and

Michael Jackson (who owned the copyright and gave permission to Nike) (Scott, 1994; Weiner, 1991), the outrage mostly referred to the song's socio-historical meaning and the inferred intention behind its use, using the *Revolution* to sell shoes (Scott, 1994). This introduces discourses of 'sell-out' defined by Hesmondhalgh (Hesmondhalgh, 1999:pp148) as 'the abandonment of idealism for financial reward' or by Frith & Horne as 'to switch from artistic to commercial logic' (Frith and Horne, 1987:pp171), and the appropriation of music for advertising is an instance where the label of 'sell-out' often exists in its most intensive and emotive form (Englis and Pennell, 1994) with many musicians purposefully refusing to allow their music to be used in ads (Weiner, 1991). The question is, then, can a song like *Revolution* be regarded as being counter-cultural?

If certain pieces of music such as *Revolution* are to be regarded as counter-cultural then the three instances of counterculture as reported by Desmond et al (2000) can be witnessed; the song is regarded by the musicians as authentic (we 'wrote and recorded these songs as artists and not as pitchmen for any product'), the appropriation of the song by Nike is certainly a case of mediation between the supposed counter-culture and the mainstream, third the song is different to the mainstream ('the song had a meaning that Nike is destroying'). This interpretation holds that the advertisers seek to channel the legitimacy of the music into semiotic markers that can be attached to a commodity brand name. This process mirrors Goldman et al's study of the portrayal of feminism in advertising which they concluded represented a single aspect of an internally contradictory hegemonic process through which oppositional discourses become re-routed in accordance with the logic of commodification (Goldman *et al.*, 1991). In this mode, Nike appeared to be hijacking the signs of the counterculture and

then parading their victims as a display of their own power and inescapable monopoly.

Yet there is a paradox in considering a song like *Revolution* as counter-cultural or indeed oppositional. First the lyrics of the song itself (written by John Lennon) were based on a pacifist criticism of radical opposition at a time when student uprisings were a world-wide phenomenon (Quantick, 2002); as the song says 'count me out'[3]. Upon release the song incurred controversy amongst left-wing writers, *Ramparts* declared the song to be a 'betrayal' and in particular objected to the line 'you know it's gonna be alright': 'It isn't', they wrote 'you *know* it's *not* gonna be all right' (cited in Weiner, 1991:pp289-90), *New Left Review* denounced the song as a 'lamentable petty bourgeois cry of fear' (pp289), the *Berkley Bard* stated '*Revolution* sounds like the hawk plank adopted in the Chicago convention of the Democratic Death Party' (pp290) whilst the *Village Voice* wrote 'it is puritanical to expect musicians, or anyone else to hew the proper line. But it is reasonable to request that they do not go out of their way to oppose it. Lennon has and it takes much of the pleasure out of their music for me' (pp290).

Second, there is an irony in considering the Beatles, given their mass popularity, to be anything other than mainstream culture. Whilst the Beatles may have objected to their song being tied with profane commodities, it is useful at this stage to reflect upon the commodity nature of their own music within the context of consumption

[3] It is important to note that there are three versions of the song, *Revolution, Revolution No. 1 and Revolution No. 9* [Quantick, D. (2002). *Revolution - the making of the Beatles' white album.* London: Unanimous Ltd]. In the lyrics in *Revolution No. 1,* Lennon sings 'count me in'. According to Beatles member Paul McCartney 'He (John Lennon) doesn't really get off the fence in it. He says you can count me out, in, so you're not actually sure. I don't think he was sure which way he felt about it at the time' [Miles, B. (1998). *Paul McCartney - many years from now.* London: Vintage]. This paper addresses the single version which says 'count me out' and was used in the Nike commercial.

ideology. For Frank (1997) the rise of counterculture in the 1960s can be understood as a 'myth of authenticity and co-optation' (pp8):

> Apart from certain obvious exceptions at either end of the spectrum of commodification (represented, say, by the MC-5 at one end and the Monkees at the other) it was and remains difficult to distinguish precisely between authentic counterculture and fake: by almost every account, the counterculture, as a mass movement distinct from bohemia which preceded it, was triggered at least as much by developments in mass culture (particularly the arrival of the Beatles in 1964) as changes at the grass roots. Its heroes were rock stars and rebel celebrities, millionaire performers and employees of the culture industry; its greatest moments occurred on television, on the radio, at rock concerts, and in movies. From a distance of thirty years, its language and music seem anything but the authentic populist culture they yearned so desperately to be: from contrived cursing to saintly communism to the embarrassingly faked Woody Guthrie accents of Bob Dylan and to the astounding pretentious works of groups like Iron Butterfly and The Doors, the relics of counterculture reek of affectation and phoniness, the leisure dreams of white suburban children like those who made up so much of the Grateful Dead's audience throughout the 1970s and 1980s (pp8).

The contribution of Tom Frank (1997) is to problematise the concept of authentic (for further discussion on authenticity see section 3.4.1.1) and to challenge the idea of co-optation with regards to counterculture. For Frank, advertising was central to the emergence of counterculture mythology of the 1960s with many of the anti-conformist values being actively celebrated by advertisers seeking to wrestle market share away from dominant market players. The myth of rebel youth was the primary myth advertisers referred to in order to perpetuate the 'commercial fantasies of rebellion, liberation, and outright 'revolution' against the stultifying demands of mass society' (Frank, 1997:pp4), which by the time of the 60s were already 'commonplace to the point of invisibility' in advertising. In this sense the message of the song *Revolution* is no different to the radical ads of the time and the counterculture credentials of the musicians no more than those of the creatives working in the advertising agency. As Franks described it:

> Read as a whole, the best advertising of the sixties constitutes a kind of mass-culture critique in its own right, a statement of alienation and disgust, of longing for authenticity and for selfhood that ranks with books like *Growing up Absurd* and movies like *The Graduate.* (pp8)

Referring Adorno & Horkheimer's (1998) theory of culture industry back to the use of the song *Revolution* would require reflecting upon the irony in considering the Beatles, given their mass popularity, to be anything other than mainstream culture. According to Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) art that exists in the domain of the market is a commodity produced in a culture industry whereby the details are interchangeable 'with ready made clichés to be slotted in anywhere'; 'in light music, once the trained ear has heard the first notes of the hit song, it can guess what is coming and feel flattered when it does come' (pp125). *Revolution* conforms to the standard 12-bar blues form and hence can be regarded as a highly predictable piece of music. The outcome of such standardised composition where the whole and the parts are alike, according to Adorno & Horkheimer, is that there is no antithesis and hence Adorno & Horkheimer would not consider the song as oppositional but rather a piece of music that called for regressive listening habits and ultimately led to reification (pp126). The political message contained within the lyrics – conformist though they may well be – would not impress Adorno who argued that politically committed art that exists within the commodity form is a mere 'pantomime' as art can only resist by its form alone (cited by Kellner, 2002:pp92).

The reverence in which the public held the music of the Beatles that led to the Nike controversy can be accounted for by Adorno by fetishisation in which consumers start to revere the commodity; 'before the theological caprices of commodities, the consumers become temple slaves' (Adorno, 2002a:pp39). Also part of this process is

how the music becomes linked to the cult of the personality – in the case of The Beatles a very large cult indeed. In this form of fetishisation the artists becomes the commodity to be consumed, further alienating the listener from the music (Szimigin, 2001). In this case the fetishised reaction of the Beatles' fans to the music has become isolated from the music itself (which in any case is already a commodity), as Adorno put it: 'where they react at all, it no longer makes any difference whether it is to Beethoven's Seventh Symphony or to a bikini' (pp37).

Within this context Adorno & Horkheimer would have viewed the controversy surrounding the Nike ad as a sham debate because the song *Revolution* exists so much in the commodity form that it is already interchangeable with Nike products. Worse, the debate acts as a deception because the viewpoint of *Revolution* as counter-cultural to Nike fails to acknowledge its commodity form; 'Those who succumb to the ideology are precisely those who cover up the contradiction instead of taking it into the consciousness of their production' (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1998:pp157). Adorno described the process of pseudo-activity as where people, who not yet fully reified, seek to distance themselves from the mechanism of music reification by becoming more active consumers and exploring musical alternatives. However, all they succeed in doing is further integrating themselves into fetishism (Adorno, 2002a:pp52). Applying the Adornian perspective, the outrage surrounding the Nike advertisement may therefore be considered as a pseudo-activity.

So what then, are we to make of the use of the song *Revolution* by Nike? An interpretive perspective would examine the discourse of the time, such as the protest letters sent to Nike (as was researched by Scott, 1994). This can fall into the trap of

making what Murray & Ozanne (1991) describe as making 'non-judgemental stance which assumes that all groups and cultures are equal' (pp134). By bringing critical perspectives such as Adorno & Horkheimer's (1998) critique of culture industry as mass deception and Frank's (1997) problematisation of the notions of authenticity and co-optation of counterculture, a contradiction can be found between the intersubjective understanding of The Beatles' fans to co-optation and what is taken to be the objective social conditions of culture industry as proposed by Adorno & Horkheimer and Frank. From this a negative dialectic emerges of false-consciousness on the parts of the Beatles' fans and a conception of what constitutes counterculture is, in fact, not oppositional to the existing social order.

This brings a deeper understanding of how ideology works in advertising which moves beyond Williamson's critique of co-optation. Instead, by applying critical analysis the mechanisms of deception are unmasked and whilst the Beatles may operate as a counterculture sign, it remains as a sign heteronymous with other signs in the 'chain of signifiers' (Baudrillard, 1998:pp27) whose opposition amounts to zero. The act of listening to the Beatles then constitutes a case of Bataille's (1997) material utility as it becomes an object of reproducing the social order by perpetuating the myth that what is countercultural is oppositional to the social order.

2.6 Conclusions and Summary

This chapter has outlined some of the ways in which marketing and related studies have considered how music can be used as a powerful mechanism for social organisation and control. The literature was divided into two subsections, the 'scientific' studies typified by positivist ontologies and the interpretive frameworks which are more concerned with the subjective interaction between listener and music.

The review has been guided by a critical perspective (in part informed by Adorno & Horkheimer, 1998), which has resulted in trying to seek a dialectic between the intersubjective understanding and the objective social conditions. Despite the widespread discrepancies that exist in the disappointing collection of imbroglio studies of music in the service environments, we can certainly see that there has been an emergence of a body of work suggesting that music that fits with its environment can influence behaviour, emotions and cognitions. De Nora's (2003) research helps to expand upon this and bring us towards a picture of music as a powerful means of control.

The imbroglio state of research on this area is the result of major research problematics and indeed De Nora's (2003) report on her own experience as shadower is the result of what she refers to as a 'serendipity' (pp109). Therefore, despite the existence of a large body of research, considerable progress is needed to understand how music operates as a mode of social control. Indeed the marketing literature exists at very much a micro level with little serious reflections on the macro nature of music in society.

The contribution of interpretive research to these problematics has been to focus our attention on how music operates as a resource and as a sign, at the level of exchange. Through these mechanisms we can see underlying ideologies with Williamson (1988) offering the critique *par excellence* of how ideology is created through advertising that reproduces the existing social order. In this sense we can see how music is employed to signify rebellion or youthfulness, or whatever exchange value the ad seeks to take from the music. Through the illustration of these mechanisms at play

with the example of Nike's use of *Revolution,* we can see how the use of music and advertising feed off each others signs, with musicians trying to package themselves as a countercultural other and advertising trying to incorporate that exchange value into their message. However both are propagating a myth, which moves consciousness further and further away from the underlying social reality.

Throughout this chapter we can see the mechanisms whereby music is being used to configure consumers to behave in a certain way and to accept an ideology of social order based on a consumption-production nexus. This lends supports to the dramatic claims of Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) that music is used as a mechanism for social ordering. However, clearly there is a need for far more empirical research to consider this perspective from a more macro perspective and in this the work of De Nora (2003) is proposed as a seminal text and her contribution to this process proposed as fundamental.

A final comment regards the lack of a consideration of the ethical implications of studying music as a means of social control that seems to be ever conspicuous by its absence within marketing studies. Yet, as Adorno & Horkheimer demonstrate such uses of music raise serious moral and ethical questions. Clearly there is a need for more of an ethical orientation in the consideration of how music operates.

In understanding how music is used as a means of social control, it is important to consider such usage within its full context and that includes examining the people who work in the culture industries and the structures of those industries and this is undertaken in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 The Culture Industries

Chapter 3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 considers the actual culture industries themselves, focussing on the people who work in them. First the chapter considers the background music industry and its historical emergence through to the 1970s when the Muzak Corporation seemed to define the *zeitgeist*. Following this a discussion of the advertising industry is presented with a special focus on its history of employing creative people. This theme is carried through into the third section, which is an analysis of the music industry. Special attention is paid to the process of marketing and artist development as part of a process of commodification and a discussion on the notion of 'authenticity' is presented. An illustration of these dynamics as they relate to the career of Lou Reed is included. The musicians themselves are also considered and it noted how they tend towards shared values and a sense of community. Finally to conceptualise the chapter, two concepts are introduced, Becker's (1982) theory of the Art World and McGregor's (1960) theory-x and theory-y.

As noted in chapter one, this research follows the convention of Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) who, in their original German texts, differentiated by use of the definite article between culture industry as a sociological and ideological process and *the* culture industry as the industry concerned with the production of cultural material. Whilst this convention may make less sense in English than in German, it nonetheless addresses a confusion that arises when both terms are used interchangeably and

therefore is employed throughout this thesis. This chapter considers *the* cultural industries.

According to Hesmondhalgh (2002) the culture industries, through their occupation of making and circulating textual products have a profound influence in our understanding of the world; 'they draw on and help to constitute our inner, private lives: our fantasies, emotions and identities. What is more, the sheer amount of time that we spend absorbing the texts produced by the cultural industries, however distractedly we might do so, makes the cultural industries a powerful factor in our lives' (pp3). As well as this, Hesmondhalgh argues that the culture industries have moved closer to the centre of economic action and therefore "can no longer be seen as secondary to the 'real' economy where durable, 'useful' goods are manufactured. Indeed some of these companies (*Disney, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation*) are amongst the most highly valued and discussed businesses in the world" (pp1). Therefore, the importance of the culture industries in everyday life is hugely important, not least because they tend to operate as the point of interface between culture and the market. As these organisations tend to be driven by profit (Hesmondhalgh, 2002), they are of central importance to understanding how culture and musicians operate in society.

However as Miége (1987) points out, the term culture industry itself is inadequate because it assumes that there is a unified field in which all forms of cultural production obey the same logic, denying the complexity of different processes which in turn have different logic. Embracing this criticism, this research seeks to

distinguish between the practices and hence focus on four particular industries seen as being of most relevance to this dissertation within the culture industries:

- The Background Music Industry
- The Advertising Industry
- The Music Industry
- The Art World

3.2 The Background Music Industry

3.2.1 Background Music in History

According to the ethnomusicologist Gregory (1997), music in the background has its origin through all kinds of historical contexts for example: during storytelling, ceremonies and festivals, battle, commerce and during court and religious settings. Whilst the romantic notion is of music as something to be enjoyed as an end in itself (De Nora, 2000), many composers were content to compose music intended to be heard and not actively listened too as an activity in its own right (Lanza, 1997). For example, Mozart was known to compose for court whilst Telemann developed his own style of background music which he referred to as *Musique de Table* (Table Music). In fact the *Goldberg Variations* by Bach were composed with the function of curing the insomnia of the patron, Count Kaiserling (Waters, 1991).

In considering the great composers and their own influence on background music, one musician in particular emerges, Erik Satie - the man who has been credited with being the creator of elevator music (Auclair, 1993). Erik Satie developed his own style of

Musique d'ameublement, or Furniture Music. In his correspondence he described the challenge as follows:

> We must bring around a music which is like furniture – a music that is, which will be part of the noises of our environment, will take them into consideration... It would fill up those heavily silences that sometimes fall between friends dining together... it would spare them the trouble of paying attention to their own banal remarks... to make such music would be to respond to a need. (Kelly, 1999)

The concept of Satie's furniture music consisted of small cells of as much as four bars that were to be repeated over and over again. They had names such as *Phonic Floor Tiles – to be played at a luncheon* and *Wall Hanging in Forged Iron – for the arrival of guests at a splendid reception, to be played in an entrance hall.* Perhaps his best-known piece of Furniture Music is called *Vexations* and consisted of a short piece of music to be repeated 840 times. At a premiere in an art gallery where his furniture music was performed by a team of relay piano players, Satie became irritated by the reverence that the audience was showing to his music. He lost his temper and shouted at the guests that they weren't to listen to his music but to walk around and talk to each other (Auclair, 1993).

While the Furniture Music of Satie could be dismissed as being another one of his many eccentric hobbies, his work has come to inspire later minimalist composers including John Cage (who once performed *Vexations*) and latterly Brian Eno (Auclair, 1993).

In 1978 Brian Eno produced his own form of 'Ambient Music', perhaps best exemplified by the album *Music for Airports*. Eno describes the *raison d'etre* of Ambient Music as follows:

> It was obvious to me that people were using records in their life like you use a piece of furniture, or you use lighting. They would come home and put on this record to do the washing-up with and another one to have dinner with. So the concept of use is one thing, but the particular type of usage is another. It isn't dance music. It's more like trance music. It's music for drifting off somewhere. And it is distinct from most other pop music in that respect. (Channel-4, 1991)

His album *Music for Airports* was played in the Greater Pittsburgh International Airport during the Three Rivers Arts Festival. The outcome was that many of the patrons contacted the airport management complaining about that the music made them feel uneasy and requesting the old music back (Lanza, 1995).

Another musician who produces music similar to Ambient Music is Moby. His music is at times quite lush and non-challenging and can be compared with other forms of background music; indeed Moby himself compares his music with the Furniture Music of Satie:

> I like to make music that can have multiple utilities as though it were. Erik Satie, one of my favourite composers, wanted to make music that could mix in with the sound of people having dinner. His music mixes in perfectly with the sound of people having dinner. It's also excruciatingly rewarding if you sit down and listen to it with headphones. (Bragg, 2002)

The key elements in the music of Satie, Eno and Moby which is stressed by the composers themselves in the above comments is the functionality of the music, rather than music being seen as a form of non-productive waste (Bataille, 1997) or purposeless for the purpose of the market (as described by Adorno & Horkheimer 1.4), they were producing music with a well defined utility. This problematises the idea of background music as an invention of a soulless industry as, in point of fact, it was a movement which originates from some of the most renowned musicians and composers throughout history and continues to inspire musicians.

3.2.2 Industrial Uses of Background Music and the Muzak Corporation

As opposed to the type of background music so far discussed, this section shall take as its focus the practice of piping music into a specific area as practiced by industry. With the advent of large scale department stores, music's potential was quickly recognised as playing an important role in retail atmospherics, for example, AT Stewart's 'Cast Iron' Palace which opened in New York in 1862 included continuous organ playing and by 1904 retail music was at such an advanced level that Richard Strauss conducted the world premiere performance of his Symphonia Domestica in Wanamaker's New York store (Schlereth, 1991). Technological developments in the early twentieth century revolutionised how background music could be played (North and Hargreaves, 1997b). In the 1920s General George Owen Squire of the US Army had developed a wireless and telegraphy system that formed the basis of the Muzak Corporation; a name he coined himself that reflected the musical content of the organisation and deliberately sound like Kodak. Thus it became possible for music to be piped into buildings, elevators, places of work, bus stations, airplanes and even spaceships (Lanza, 1995). The Muzak philosophy can perhaps best be summed up by an old slogan (since abandoned): 'Boring Work is Made Less Boring by Boring Music' (Lanza, 1995:pp155). Muzak arrangements typically consist of popular songs of the day being rearranged to fit more easily in the background. Heavy rhythmic parts of the arrangement are removed and as vocals are seen as distracting, they are often replaced by the melody line played by lounge piano, guitar or vibraphone. Indeed Lanza, a Muzak biographer, describes the typical Muzak experience as follows; "think of 'elevator music' and the list of sounds that come to mind are of 'syrupy' strings, 'homogenised' horns, and 'whipped-cream' Wurlitzers languidly

labouring to make us relax" (Lanza, 1995:pp38). Whilst Haden-Guest (1973) described Muzak as 'flowing through my inner ear in department stores, and in hotel lobbies it stippled the appetite in expense-account eateries and Muzak assuaged the bruised ego in cocktail-bars. Amongst the tarnish-proof horse-brasses and olde-oak-beamery of London pubs, Muzak plinked inconsolably of new, unhappy, near-by things, and in airliners, just as the neon demanded that belts be buckled and cigarettes scrunched, the Muzak would come welling in' (pp11).

This type of music was widely produced by a series of organisations such as Muzak, and Audio Entertainment Incorporated whose music products were extensively supplied to retailers and became ubiquitous with the shopping experience (De Nora, 2000; Lanza, 1995; Waters, 1991). It was also believed that such music could help to improve the productivity of workers. During the Second World War the BBC broadcast especially composed music to boost the productivity of the factory workers producing armament. By the end of the war, the programme *Music While You Work* was broadcast into 9,000 factories and had a listenership of five million workers (BBC, 2002). Central to Muzak's sales pitch was their reference to scientific discourses which, pre-empting the post-Milliman research tradition in marketing, were used to make grand claims regarding Muzak's potential (Haden-Guest, 1973). By creating a so-called Mood Stimulus Progression Chart musical programme, Muzak sought to provide music to boost what they found to be the periods of lapse in employee productivity. Their findings on the success of this programme were outlined in reports such as *Effects of Muzak on Industrial Efficiency, Effects of Muzak on Office Personnel, Research Findings on the Physiological and Psychological Effects of Music and Muzak* (Haden-Guest, 1973pp18-19). Beyond productivity, Muzak was making other grand claims which they backed up by their in-house research which

claimed that Muzak would increase metabolism, speed up breathing, typing, writing, increase muscular energy, delays fatigue, facilitates attention and produce marked effects on blood pressure and pulse (Haden-Guest, 1973).

According to Muzak biographer, Joseph Lanza (1995), Muzak the organisation had reached their peak by the 1970s when they seemed to perfectly match the US zeitgeist. President Nixon piped Muzak into the White House and Pentagon (Haden-Guest, pp12) and also to the crowds at Capitol Hill during his inauguration ceremony. Meanwhile the Polaris submarines played Muzak to its crew, Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin listened to Muzak during their Apollo mission and a special historic music programme was created for the Pope 'as he moved through the heavens by Avianca flight to Columbia' (Haden-Guest, 1973:pp28). In fact the holder of the Muzak franchise for Austin Texas was none other than Lyndon Baines Johnson himself! Haden-Guest describes Muzak's client base as including the very largest corporations across the world. Meanwhile, Muzak was played during American football games in Alabama and Los Angeles and could also be heard in a dog and cat hospital in Baltimore, a Bronx zoo, a Turkish bath in San Francisco, a high school in New Jersey, Oxford University Press, the Department of Mechanical and Industrial Engineering at the University of Illinois, a mental hospital in Austin, the Houston Astrodome and last but not least a 39-storey 21,000 tomb high rise cemetery in Rio de Janeiro! (Haden-Guest, 1973) Not just people but animals and crops too were subjected to Muzak, it was played in a US slaughterhouse because it supposedly stopped the animals' blood clotting, farmers believed that hens would lay more eggs and cows gave more milk under Muzak. Finally, Muzak was played to a grove of mango plants in Florida and also a rubbish dump in Minneapolis (Haden-Guest,

1973:37). In total, Muzak was turning over $400 million a year and was heard by eighty million people *every day* (pp13). Not content with expanding beyond US national borders and indeed into outer space itself, Haden Guest described the ambitions of Muzak director Umberto Muscio at that time:

> Glowingly, Umberto Muscio talks of piping Muzak to the housewife, thereby (somehow) enhancing the privacy of the home. Outdoors, Muzak will wing across the open spaces. The potential in mood-control and in crowd-control has hardly been *scratched*. 'All this is part of the work of our Human Factors Division...' (pp13)

Lanza demonstrates how such typical background music / elevator music / moodsong/ beautiful music / Muzak was being produced by a wide number of arrangers and whose records were, at this time, selling in large quantities. Arrangers such as Mantavani, Percy Faith, Bert Kaemperfert, Ray Coniff and Manuel produced a huge number of lush, orchestral, instrumental albums whose style was close to that of Muzak (Lanza, 1995).

Parallel to the rise of licensed music relative to the decline of the jingle (as outlined in section 2.4.6), in recent times there has been an increased emphasis in the provision of original recordings in the background, i.e. not the standard, non-offensive, 'NASA aesthetic' (as Haden-Guest described it) instrumental Muzak style arrangement. Perhaps the genesis for this can be traced to the establishment of the rival company Audio Environments, Inc (AEI) in 1971 (Lanza, 1997). AEI marketed themselves as supplying 'foreground' rather than background music as they supplied music to premises in their original format (i.e. with their lyrics intact), even if they did retain much of Muzak's techniques by 'stressing "elements" over "musical style" and using melody as a dramatic device for the retail and hospitality stage' (Lanza, 1995:pp160). In 1981 Muzak merged with their rivals Yesco to offer an original artist channel

called FM (Foreground Music) (Lanza, 1995:pp164). By now, much of today's piped music is licensed music in its original format yet in many contexts the Muzak style still survives (De Nora, 2000). In an ironic twist, Rohde & Plateel (1999) see a resurgence in the demand for the Muzak style of easy listening to be played at parties. However, they suggest that the music would not be used to achieve the scientific outcomes that Muzak aspired to, rather it would be used in the spirit of irony and camp and employed as a 'yuppie decadence with a knowing wink' (Rohde & Plateel, 1999:pp42). In the late 1990s a number of DJs such as Jack Fetterman and Joseph Lanza (Muzak biographer) played easy listening in such nightclubs as Hi Fi at Bar D'O and Club 107 in the former World Trade Centre in New York. So too Muzak seems to have entered the 'chain of signifiers' where it has taken on a new camp value.

The background music industry of today continues to be dominated by a small number of global players including Muzak who have a market share of 60% in the USA. According to their website they have an employee base of 3,000 serving 350,000 clients from over 200 service centres. They claim to be heard by 100,000,000 people daily (www.muzak.com). In 2003 they had a revenue of $235 million, up 81% from 1999 (Hagenbaugh, 2004). A second major player in the US are DMX music who can be regarded as a major international supplier who caused a huge stir when they acquired the US giants Audio Entertainment Incorporated (AEI) in 2002 (AEI were partially responsible for the shift from background to foreground music during the 1980s) (www.dmxmusic.com). Taking advantage of both satellite and broadband technology, they beam their music across the world claiming to have a customer base

of ten million homes, 180,000 businesses and thirty airlines with a listenership of 80 million.

In other markets there are major corporations, for example, Imagesound are an English based company based in Chesterfield. They claim to have a client base of over 4,300 companies and a staff base of 34 (www.imagesound.co.uk). As noted in section 3.4.3.1 the sector is currently marked by a large degree of institutional co-existence which has resulted in competition from outside sources, most notably XM Radio supply to both the consumer market – allowing their 2.1 million customers to develop a personalised radio station where they can select the music, the news bulletins and decide to have it advertisement free, should they wish – and also the commercial market where their major client is Starbucks and their music is heard in over 4,000 locations throughout the USA (X-Radio-Press-Release, 2004).

However the typically non-offensive nature of music has incurred the criticism, if not the wrath, of numerous commentators. This contempt has been immortalised in the book *Judge Dredd – Muzak Killer* (Ennis et al., 2003), which details the story of one man who became so obsessed with Muzak that he sought to murder all the musicians involved in the production as a means of liberation for humanity. This character may have been inspired by the heavy metal guitarist Ted Nugent who, in an interview for the 1992 Channel 4 documentary ***Beautiful Music*, described how he hated Muzak** so much that he attempted to buy the corporation with the intention of destroying their entire archives[4]:

[4] Haden-Guest would have mourned the loss of the Muzak back catalogues, 'how else', he asked, ' can one catch *Satin Slippers and Scarf Dance*? *Czibulka, Franz Drdla, Cyril Scott,* and *Eurovision's Beautiful Losers of Yesteryear*? Snatches from neglected virtuosi like Chiminade and from all-too

> Muzak is a waste of time and a feeble effort because if anything is actually designed for background then get out of here because you're born here and your gonna die here so background to what? Foreground: that's the name of life. Those people that allow themselves to become rugged, they get up and they eat *the food* and they go to *the desk* and come home to *the meal* and they go *the bed.* And they get up in the morning and they go to places that have this la la (sings some Muzak in an exaggerated way) sound going on. I imagine they get um automated and they rely on it for whatever hum that represents in their mundane, boring little life. I make music for one simple reason, because I need it. I crave it! I want to make those note patterns! I want to take the musical idea to its maximum limit! I want to take it to its rhythmical, sonic, energetic, intense, uninhibited, irreverent extent! I want that rock n' roll and I want it now! (Waters, 1991)

This is an example of how Muzak is perceived as a soundtrack for a reified life and an antithesis for what music should be achieving. Indeed such is the unpopularity of Muzak and other forms of piped music that the English organisation Pipedown has been actively campaigning for 'freedom from piped music' and this has included a protest march through central London (Bradshaw et al., 2003; De Nora, 2003; North and Hargreaves, 1997a). Nor is this without precedent, in the late sixties customers at the Grand Central Station in New York protested and succeeded in having the Muzak removed from the station (1997). In 1969 UNESCO's International Music Council passed a resolution with the support of the International Council of Women denouncing 'unanimously the intolerable infringement of individual freedom and the right of everyone to silence, because of the abusive use, in private and public places of recorded or broadcast music' (Lanza, 1995:pp153). A key member of the UNESCO Council who championed the cause was the musician Yehudi Menuhin (Lanza, 1995). In his book *The Music of Man,* Menuhin condemns the use of piped music as follows:

> This is a cheap way to avoid engaging musicians and as corrupting as artificial fruit flavours, debasing our natural taste. Our world has become a sounding board for manmade sounds, amplified to suffuse and suffocate us: urbanised populations are divorced more and more from the sounds of nature and the

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shortlived musicals like *Twang?'* Haden-Guest, A. (1973). *The Paradise Program; Travels Through Muzak, Hilton, Coca-Cola, Texaco, Walt Disney and other World Enterprises.* London: Morrow, pp23.

> living performance of music. We may seek to cover up the artificial sound environment with Muzak, but I feel that man should object to the invasion of his sovereignty and privacy by the constant stream of music which pours out of amplifiers like gas warfare. It is but a short step from there to the infiltration of subliminal messages, influencing our choice of products and services, perhaps even our political and social views (Menuhin and Davis, 1979:pp288-289).

As De Nora explains, such discourses are as much a protest against the irritating nature of the music as it is an attempt to avoid 'musically configured settings so as to resist the social implications of those settings' (De Nora, 2003:pp126).

However, the self-perception of the background music employees is at odds with their critics. As Lanza identifies, 'whilst these establishments may have been influenced by applied mass psychology or background music marketing studies, their personnel deny being motivated by anything more than the semi-Svengalian notion that music just makes people feel better about spending their money' (Lanza, 1995:pp222). Indeed Christopher Case, Programme Manager of Muzak, describes the purpose of Muzak programmes as follows:

> Muzak is something that is all over the world and I took the job, primarily, so to try and have a positive impact on the world. When I arrived I felt that there were a lot of improvements to be made. In fact, when it was first suggested that I take this job, I laughed and said 'No, no, that's completely against everything I stand for'. I stand for quality in music and actual musical value in music. Not necessarily just entertainment value, our music is more than entertainment, it actually serves a purpose and that purpose is to uplift anyone who comes within earshot of it whether or not they're conscious of it or not. So, eh, I feel that by working at Muzak, I have the opportunity to do something positive for the world through changing the music, or Muzak, for them. (Channel-4, 1991)

This self-perception sees Muzak providing a valuable and important service to humanity that goes against the common perception of Muzak as soulless and reifying music. Indeed a former programmer of Muzak, Rod Baum, described the reason why he accepted the job because he wanted to 'elevate the musical tastes of the American

public' (Lanza, 1995:pp159). Umberto Muscio described the critics of Muzak as belonging to the 'Eastern Liberal Establishment'; 'they are an ethnic group. They all think the same. And one of the things that they think is that they don't like Muzak. You know why? They don't like it because it's too popular, that's why!... If Muzak makes people happy... and contented in their environment, like air-conditioning or a colour-scheme – how can it not be good?' (Haden-Guest, 1973:pp16)

Despite the discourses of edification used by Muzak employees, it may be wrong to overstate the commitment of the Muzak Corporation to Adornian principles of 'authentic art' (see section 1.5.6). Throughout history, the links between Muzak and authoritarianism has existed at more than the level of conspiracy theory discourse. The company itself emerged through scientific research conducted in the US army and during the 1960s Muzak conducted several experiments through the army's Human Engineering Laboratories masterminded by Dr. William Wokoun, who Lanza describes as a 'thin, bespectacled, taciturn behaviourist with a crew-cut – the perfect stereotype of the kind of professor preparing calculations and other paperwork for a trip to Mars' (Lanza, 1995:pp150), and also by Haden-Guest as having the 'precision-trimmed hair, and a suit apparently cut from a Boeing fuselage of the Technocrat' (pp10). These experiments included tests on personnel at a cordon of US nuclear missile sites in Alaska.

During the 70s, Muzak purchased the library of the Brno Radio Orchestra from Czechoslovakia who were formed to 'sell the Stalinist party line'. As then CEO of Muzak Baum said of the orchestra: 'since Muzak merely replaced red propaganda with propaganda from the Ford Motor Company or Budweiser, I figured they were

ideal' (Lanza, 1995:pp159). Around this time there were plans to install Muzak in a police station interrogation area, only to be nixed by the appointment of a new police chief. Meanwhile Muzak were trading under slogans such as 'The New Muzak – A System of Security for the 70s' and 'Muzak is a Total Communications System' (Lanza, 1995:pp152-153), and Muzak was used to keep the staff vigilant at the US nuclear missile sites (Haden-Guest, 1973). Noting that there were difficulties entering certain European markets such as Holland, France, Great Britain and Italy, a Muzak executive exclaimed to Haden-Guest; 'The ironical thing is that we have no trouble in totalitarian countries, we have no problem in Spain!' (pp23).

Indeed at times the world of Muzak sounds suspiciously similar to Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and its promise of 'All the Latest Synthetic Music' (Huxley, 1994:pp67) or George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* where music was piped into people's homes and workplace by a totalitarian regime (Orwell, 1990). According to Haden-Guest (1973), a headline in a Muzak bulletin, which was put out by the British franchisee, Associated Television reads: 'A Muzak transmission studio is a dream of *1984* automation' (pp16).

Indeed the history of Muzak is replete with comparisons to Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four.* For example, the aforementioned Woukon described his idea for transmitting Muzak into people's homes: 'Perhaps the Muzak will be co-ordinated with walls... changing colours through the day' which is indeed remarkably close to Orwell's (1990) futuristic vision as was British Muzak franchisee Bill Michael "most of the people who disapprove of Muzak have intellectual pretensions. They say 'I don't want to be got at. I don't want people manipulating my subconscious'. 'Yes', we say, 'We

are manipulating your subconscious. But we are doing it for your own good!' (Haden-Guest, 1973:pp45), Haden Guest described it as follows: 'Orwell had a vision of the future which was a human foot forever crushing a human face. Umberto Muscio's vision is a kindlier one. A human ear forever plugged with Muzak' (pp32). Muzak's senior programmer O'Neill in the 1970s said 'I don't think you can call it Big Brotherism. Is it Big Brotherism to install air-conditioning? Obviously it's good if your workers are happier. They work harder. But is this Big Brotherism?' (Haden-Guest, 1973:pp36).

3.2.3 Discussion

The provision of background music may be seen as one of the most explicit uses of music as a means of social control. Whilst these functions range from Bach composing to help people overcome insomnia, the use of music to aid interrogation and to produce armaments more efficiently during wartime conditions. Background music providers creates suspicions of sinister mind control and this seems to balance in an almost chilling way with Adorno & Horkheimer's (1998) description of how culture industry functions. Nonetheless this image of Muzak as an insidious and sinister regime is difficult to balance with people such as Christopher Case and his claim that he seeks to do something positive for the world and the risk of overstating Muzak as a devious enterprise is ever present. Therefore we can see two conflicting views of the Muzak Corporation, one is that the organisation is a creatively devoid entity engaged in the business of reification and the second is that it is a highly creative organisation which seeks to make the world a better place. Interestingly, as the following sections illustrates, this dichotomy is shared with other parts of the

culture industries. The next section considers how the same dichotomoy exists in the advertising industry.

3.3 The Advertising Industry

The advertising sector has huge global sales, for example, according to Advertising in the UK, in 2003 the sector had a value of £17.1 billion, in France it had a value of $10.3 billion, in Germany $30 billion, whilst in the USA the sector had a value of $256.1 billion (www.euromonitorinternational.com). Advertising agencies tend to operate on a national rather than multinational basis. For example, in the USA the sector tends to be relatively highly consolidated with the five largest agencies accounting for 76% of the total market. In the UK market consolidation is far less with the ten largest agencies accounting for less than 50% of market share. Typically the work of the advertising agencies is divided between numerous sectors including producing advertisements for television, print, online and outdoor. The sector with the largest income stream is television which in the USA accounted for $116 billion. There is a general trend of market growth within the industry, most particularly in the USA where the market has experienced a growth rate of approximately 91% between 1999 and 2003 (www.euromonitorinternational.com).

Like the background music and music industry, the advertising agency has become associated with discourses of brainwashing and is often treated with suspicion (Kelly et al., 2004). According to the business historian Frank (1997), perceptions and mythologies of how the advertising industry functions and who works there emerged from the 1950s where the stereotype of the advertiser was:

> "Ulcer Gulch", the preserve of the famous "Man in the Grey Flannel Suit"; it was the archetypal destination for look-alike commuters from Westchester, it

> was slow-moving, WASPy, and serious; it was populated by other-directed organisation men. It was a shrine of "Theory X" conformity, the seat of all that was wrong with American culture. Admen were hopeless yes-men, dedicated to affirming their clients' every whim. They suffered from an excess of three-martini lunches at "21". (pp35)

The style of advertising of this time, according to Frank can be described as a 'Taylorist style of advertising' (pp39), which sought to draw from scientific behavioural and cognitive studies but ultimately lacked drama or meaning. For example one advertiser, Claude Hopkins of the Lord & Thomas agency then wrote:

> The time has come when advertising has in some hands reached the status of a science. It is based on fixed principles and is reasonably exact. The causes and effects have been analysed until they are well understood. The correct methods of procedure have been proved and established. We know what is most effective, and we act on basic laws. (cited in Frank, 1997:pp40)

The supposed conformity agenda which seemed to be a marker of the ideology of the time became attached to the advertising industry with publications such as *The Engineering of Consent* edited by Bernays (first published in 1956) or *The Hidden Persuaders* by Vance Packard (first published in 1957) who argued that advertising, through manipulation, opposed 'man in his long struggle to become a rational and self-guiding being' and instead sought to transform us into a nation of reified consumers like 'Pavlov's conditioned dog' (Packard, 1962:pp149). According to Brown (2001b) the *Hidden Persuaders* 'pandered to the Cold War paranoia that was then pervasive (ads under the bed, as it were) and chimed with widespread concerns about bureaucratisation, conformity, mass society and the unintended consequences of affluence' (pp32). The text quickly became a number 1 best seller, topping the non-fiction list for 1957-58, and had almost three million copies sold by 1975 (Brown, 2001b). According to Frank, Packard's best selling book came to be hugely influential; 'the book inspired a still-thriving faith in high-tech advertising trickery and, more important, it crystallised future criticism of Madison Avenue around an

understanding of the industry peculiar to the way it was organised in the 1950s' (Frank, 1997:pp41).

However by the 1960s, Frank (1997) describes people like Bill Bernbach of the Doyle Dane Bernbach agency as altering 'the look, language and tone of American advertising' with his long running campaign for Volkswagen cited as an example (pp80). This seminal campaign was aimed at those who were cynical of advertising and poked fun at the conventions of the advertising and automobile industry. For example, one advertisement had a picture of every Beetle model that had been issued in the past ten years bringing attention to the fact that they were all almost identical. This of course was intended as a jibe directed at other car manufacturers who changed their model every year to create a spiral of obsolescence; 'the ads appealed, as did the works of popular criticism which informed them, to a pre-consumerist thriftiness and a suspicion of ornament and fashion' (pp64). The campaign turned out to be hugely successful and has been credited with not just 'humanising the Nazi car' (pp68) but also inspiring a new trend of advertisements distancing themselves from consumerism.

Whilst there is a certain irony attached in advertisements encouraging consumers to read competing ads critically and to distance themselves from consumption culture, Frank describes the contribution of advertisers such as Bernbach as not just directly engaging with the anti-consumerist discourse but also *embracing* it. Rather than being a cynical co-optation, Frank argues that this was a natural progression for advertisers who shared the sense of alienation from the conformity of the fifties; it was 'a clear and simple example of a product marketed as an emblem of good-humoured

alienation and largely accepted as such by the alienated' (pp68). The marked change can be witnessed in the new wave of creatives who joined advertising agencies and were a contrast to the previous generation of 'grey flannel man', instead, as one writer at the time put it; 'advertising is the only business in the world that takes on the lame, the drunks, the potheads and the weirdos', (cited by Frank, 1997:pp79) or as Frank put it; 'the adman was fast being saddled with a new image: no longer was he the other-directed technocrat, the most craven species of American businessman, but the coolest guy on the commuter train, turned on to the latest in youth culture, rock music, and drug-influenced graphic effects... 'The lunatics began to take over the asylum' (Frank, 1997:pp115). Rather than co-opting it, Frank argues that advertising 'creativity had merged with the counterculture' (pp105).

The reasons why advertising sought to merge with the counterculture in the 1960s may be accredited to a number of factors including the rise of the youth demographic. However as Frank identifies, 'youth' had a meaning and an appeal that extended far beyond the youth market proper; it came to signify a consuming attitude that embraces a commitment to non-conformity and hence change which could be realised through modes of consumption. This style also sought to encourage an aesthetic of consumption where advertising would no longer try to construct an idealised but self-evidently false vision of consumer perfection, instead it would offer itself as an antidote to the patent absurdities of affluence (Frank, 1997). Also, the advantage of a reigning ideology of anti-conformity was highly advantageous to firms competing against virtual monopoly holders, and the marketing of 7up as the 'anti-Coke' is a classic example.

Whilst Frank's study focuses on advertising agencies in the 1960s, he claims that history repeated itself almost exactly with the rise of 'Generation-X' during the 1990s. Indeed Holt (2003) sought to systematise this process through his study of the history of the marketing of Mountain Dew. He argues that rather than targeting consumer segments or psychographic types, successful brands target the *zeitgeist*; 'veins of intense anxieties and desires running through society, the psychological consequence of the national ideology' (pp48). Through identifying national contradictions, Holt argues, advertisers can speak with a rebel's voice and this can only be done by drawing on cultural knowledge; 'such knowledge doesn't come from focus groups or ethnography or trend reports – the marketer's usual means of 'getting close to the customer'. Rather, it comes from a cultural historian's understanding of ideology as it waxes and wanes, a sociologist's charting of the topography of contradictions the ideology produces and a literary critic's expedition into the culture that engages these contradictions' (pp49). This mode of advertising, which Holt suggests is behind how the most powerful brands which operate as icons, then, moves advertisers away from their traditional Packardian role as manipulators and hidden persuaders towards being genuinely creative people who both draw from and lead culture, comparative, so to speak, to whom we consider as artists. Indeed for Bill Bernbach, creator of the Volkswagen ads, the conception of advertisers as belonging to the domain of science only lead to the production of inferior ads:

> There are a lot of technicians in advertising and unfortunately they talk the best game. They know all the rules. They can tell you that (pictures of) people in an ad will get you greater readership. They can tell you that a sentence should be this short or that long. They can tell you that body copy should be broken up for easier and more inviting reading. They can give you fact after fact after fact. They are the scientists of advertising. But there's one little rub. Advertising is fundamentally persuasion and persuasion happens to be not a science, but an art. (cited in Brown, 2001b:pp31)

Indeed part of the rise of the new generation of advertisers as documented by Frank (1997) is a self-reconceptualistion on the part of advertisers towards seeing themselves as artists whose 'professional practice seems to derive directly from romantic ideas of the superhuman artist' (pp81). For example, one advertiser of the time, George Lois, recalls in his memoirs his constant war against the philistine managerial style of the fifties. One such incident refers to an account supervisor, C.L. Smith, who spread Lois's work on the office floor and, in the act of inspecting it, walked on it:

> I kneeled down and swiftly rolled up my ads, column by column, until I had them all in a tidy cylinder under my arm. The diagonally positioned desk of C.L. Smith sat like a fortress in the far corner, behind me. I had salvaged my ads, but I was still in a blind rage, incensed at the way my work was being defiled. I gripped the overhang of Smith's desk and with all the strength of my furious mood I flipped it towards Smith's corner. The fortress landed with a deadly thunk on its forward side as drawers slid open and were jammed back into the falling hulk. My cylinder of ads was safely tucked under my arm as all the debris from the tops of Smith's desk crashed to the floor. My action was so sudden that a streak of ink actually surged from the desk's executive well and hit the wall like a Rorschach splotch. But I had my ads, my *work* – and without looking back I quietly walked out of the room. (cited by Frank, 1997:pp81-82)

This conceptualisation of advertiser goes against the conceptualisation typified by Packard's (1962) critique of how advertisers function by redefining them as not just cultural intermediaries but as cultural leaders. Indeed McFall (2002) identifies the conceptualisation of advertising as constituting a separate sphere to culture as a teleological conception and instead argues that advertisers should be reformulated as a *constituent practice* that has historically relied upon the juxtaposition of 'cultural' and 'economic' knowledge (pp532). In Kelly, Lawlor & O'Donohue's (2004) ethnography of advertising agencies, they demonstrate how the creative struggle immortalised by Lois's heroics continue in contemporary settings. For example, they reported creatives stating their frustration on how their ads were being modified

following copytesting procedures at the insistence of the client, as one creative complained: 'the best novels haven't been copytested!' (pp22) Kelly et al also describe advertisers as carrying large amounts of cultural capital and keeping abreast of the latest trends and identify cultural knowledge as a crucial role in advertising production (pp23).

3.3.1 Discussion

The above treatment of the advertising industry illustrates how advertisers have come to be seen as engaged in social ordering through manipulation and brainwashing. This perception can be traced to such texts as *The Hidden Persuaders* which still shapes attitudes towards advertisers today (Brown, 2001b; Frank, 1997; Kelly et al., 2004). Rather than dissipating over time, this discourse has been reinvigorated and the myth perpetuated in recent times through such publications as *No Logo* by Naomi Klein (2000), a text also identified as being influential (Kelly et al., 2004).

However, as Thomas Frank (1997) argues, the advertising agency has undergone an explosive and radical change as non-conformity and cultural hipness have defined the practices of advertising agencies. Rather than see themselves as hidden persuaders, the discourses within agencies reveal that advertisers see themselves as genuinely creative people, if not artists, engaging in legitimate cultural creation. As McFall (2002) identifies, this problematises the teleological conception of what constitutes culture and what constitutes economics. For Frank, the attitudes towards advertisements and how they function in society constitute a *myth*, a false division between culture and economics based on the assumption that culture was a

fundamental opponent of the capitalist order and that advertising was a fundamental supporter of it. When the two myths are compared, as was attempted in section 3.4.1.2, the dividing principles between both domains become confused and we enter the Adornian domain of pseudo-activity which seeks to further integrate people into the dominant mode of production. The following section considers how these myths are propagated within the music industry.

3.4 The Music Industry

The primary organisation for music industry statistics is the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry, an organisation that collectively represents the interests of industry members (www.ifpi.com). According to their annual statistics, global retail sales of music amount to $38 million. The market tends to be dominated by a small number of major record labels, the biggest of which is Universal which has a world market share of 24%. Other large competitors are BMG (12%), EMI (13%), Sony (13%), Warner (13%) whilst independent record labels account for 25% of the world market share. Large-scale changes are taking place within retail trends which is partly marked by the emergence of large scale retailers and supermarkets taking market share from specialist music retailers. For example, in France hypermarche music retail sales amounted to 39% of overall market share (IFPI, 2004a).

Another large-scale source of change is delivered by internet sales which is a rapidly growing market. For example in Germany, IFPI (2004b) report internet sales as having increased from 1% in 1999 to 12% in 2004. They report that in 2004 in

Germany, USA and UK combined, there were 200 million downloads of music; a tenfold increase in a single year. This was marked by a proliferation of online retailers with a four fold increase in the numbers which brought the number up to 250, with 150 of these based in Europe (IFPI, 2004b).

A further market change has been brought about by the increased sales in the music-to-mobiles sector. This market is strongest in Japan where the market was valued at $100 million in 2004. The largest Japanese trader in this market, Label Mobile was reported to be selling 12 million downloads of music-to-mobile per month (IFBI, 2004b). The music industry has often been represented within various forms of sociological and journalistic criticism as a source of corruption and exploitation (Negus, 1999b). Indeed as Frith (1991) identifies, an underlying narrative which can infiltrate studies of the music industry is impressed by the musician's belief in their own creativity and the supposed authenticity of their music, the myth of the battle of good (the scattered band of committed musicians) and evil (the corporate force of Time Warner, Sony-CBS, Thorn-EMI , and so on). 'This is', Frith suggests, 'an interesting story and in some ways a satisfying one (the research conclusion is usually that the Davids will beat the Goliaths) but it is, nevertheless, a misleading one' (pp285). However misleading a series of high profile arguments between record labels and musicians such as George Michael and Prince have contributed to the old discourse of good versus evil (Harrison, 2000). In more recent times there have been major changes in the framing of the music industry caused by market conglomeration of major record labels and development of internet channels of distribution such as Mp3 (Hesmondhalgh, 2002).

Difficulties arise in defining what exactly the music industry is. For example, Attali (1985) notes that the musician, as jongleur became 'economically bound to a machine of power, political or commercial' from medieval times onwards (pp15). Throughout western history there was almost always some form of professional organisation of musical activities (Goodall, 2001). Whilst it has been argued that the rise of a popular music mass industry can be traced to the renaissance where composers such as Monteverdi started to compose operas for a mass audience (Goodall, 2001), the emergence of the popular music industry as we know became associated with the growth of the mass market in the USA and the mass reproduction and distribution of sheet music in the late nineteenth century (Clarke, 1995). Popular music from this time, such as *The Maple Leaf Rag* by Scott Joplin sold in large numbers across a national base (Berlin, 1994).

The mass reproduction of music was revolutionised by the development of audio recording technology by the inventors Thomas Edison and Emile Berliner (Goodall, 2001). The outcome was a massive, burgeoning market for recorded music marked by the first stars of recorded music such as the opera singers Enrico Caruso and Giuseppe Di Stefano (Clarke, 1995; Goodall, 2001). By the 1920s recording technologies had improved significantly and had become more widespread. Around the time of the First World War there emerged a large market in the USA for the provision of ethnic recordings to large markets such as the Irish or the Italians and this market created a number of stars until the industry was severely decimated by the economic collapse associated with the Wall Street Crash in 1929 (Oakley, 1976).

During the thirties and forties the recording industry started to re-shape with the emergence of strong record labels who went on to dominate the market over coming years such as RCA Victor and Columbia (Clarke, 1995). New stars emerged from this period who took on epic stardom such as Al Jolson, Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra who mixed their musical recordings with film, radio enterprises and appearances in high selling fan magazines, marking the convergence of content from the culture industries. Stars began to market themselves increasingly on their sex appeal and a massive youth market started to follow the exploits of the popular crooners of the day (Clarke, 1995). By the 1950s rock n'roll music emerged with powerful effects as it tied into the growing sense of hipness and later the counterculture (Frank, 1997). The music recording industry was, almost from its conception, engaged in a wide range of marketing activities. In order to organise and segment markets, different types of musical forms and styles were marketed in different ways and hence the genrefication of music with styles such as jazz, blues, rock, classical, avant-garde all marketed in different ways. In recent times the establishment of the 'world music' genre has been widely commented on (Brennan, 2001; Byrne, 1999; Feld, 2000; Frith, 1991; Robinson et al., 1991).

Throughout this time there have been allegations, myths and stories of exploitation on the part of the music industry in its treatment of musicians. These disputes can range from how the management seek to shape the lifestyle of the musician according to market demands, for example Negus (1997) identifies how Sinead O'Connor was put under pressure by her record label to have an abortion, to producers dishonestly claiming composition rights over music they never composed; Buddy Holly was a high-profile victim of this practice (Clarke, 1995). A common cause of dispute

originates over contractual conditions which musicians regard as being unfair (Harrison, 2000). To give one of many examples of an incident that ended in the courts, Harrison (2000) gives the account of the case *O'Sullivan v Management Agency and Music Limited* where the court ruled that Gilbert O'Sullivan's copyright should be returned to him as the terms of his recording contract, which his management had advised him to sign, were completely unfair (Harrison, 2000:pp23-24).

These type of disputes can be divided into two sections, the first refers to the treatment of the musician as a commodity (as was the case with Sinead O'Connor) which is referred to within the music industry as 'marketing and artist development' (Negus, 1999b) and the second refers to problems relating to the ownership of the intellectual property of the musical composition, arrangement and recording (which in entering the world of copyright becomes itself a commodity). This section now treats both phenomena separately, commencing with a review of the 'marketing and artist development' process.

3.4.1 Marketing and Artist Development

In his study of how the popular music industry operates, Negus (1999a) operates two intertwining processes in the marketing and artist development; the acquisition of artists and the management and development of artists. The process of acquiring artists is typically conducted by artist & repertoire (A&R) staff whose job it is to spot talent. In many cases the A&R staff will continue to work with musicians after they have been spotted and signed to the company (Negus, 1999). Negus criticises the perception of the manager as a Svengali and instead argues that the majority of

managers 'tend to operate as representatives and advisers, guiding rather than manipulating artists. The manager plans the overall career strategy of an act, defining objectives and setting standards. She, but more frequently he, attempts to motivate both the artist and the record company, and intervenes to resolve any disputes. Record companies have a number of artists on their books and the manager works behind the scenes, spending considerable time ensuring that staff in the record company are working for an act, and ironing out any potential problems' (pp41). This perspective places the manager in an intermediary light, a buffer between artist and record label or as Hesmondhalgh describes them 'as brokers or mediators between, on the one hand, the interests of owners and executives who have to be interested in profit (or at the very least prestige) and those of creative personnel, who will want to build their reputation by producing original, innovative and/or accomplished works' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002:pp53). According to Wale (1972), the belief of the manager in the musicians is often responsible for their success because 'unless in their early days he pushes them into the right dates, the right tours, then they will remain unknown' (pp214). The manager therefore tends to be somebody with a wide range of contacts who can help arrange concerts, interviews with the media and generally liaise between the musicians on a day-to-day basis and the different vessels of the culture industries (Harrison, 2000).

Negus (1999b) identifies personnel involved in marketing as different from those associated with A&R: "(they) are less likely to describe what they do by reference to institution and organic metaphors. Instead they use such terms as 'putting together', 'constructing' and 'calculating'. From the perspective of marketing, a 'creative artist' is not expressing him or herself in some natural way" (pp62). It is at this level that

artists start to become advised with regards to image and dress. This process can be fraught with tension and Negus claims that marketing managers tend to act diplomatically when dealing with musicians but ultimately rarely pretend to 'be the artist's best friend' (pp65). Negus argues that within the music industry, there is a huge sense of the importance of imagery and he gives the example of one manager, David Howells, who would frequently play word games during interviews with musicians; he would name a music genre and ask people to name the first word that came to mind which was usually a reference to clothing style. Howells described his understanding as follows:

> 99% of people give answer that relate to the visual. The extraordinary thing is that you see what you hear. So if you accept that the two go together that's fine. But there are still a lot of people who say; 'the music speaks for itself' - it doesn't! (cited by Negus, 1999b:pp66)

The stylisation of musicians often relates to positioning them 'sartorially in relation to other artists and genres of music, and signify the adoption of an implicit lifestyle and set of values denoted by these visual codes' (pp66-67). Typically one of the very first things to happen when musicians sign to a label is to have a photo shoot which, according to Negus, becomes an opportunity to bring a series of semiotic factors and clichés into play in order to signal to the media and public what type of style the musicians will belong to:

> The most obvious photographic technique is the way in which an act are positioned in a particular context. Rock acts and 'serious' artists are often photographed on location. Following in the footsteps of Public Enemy and Lou Reed, they may be photographed on the mean streets of New York, or like Tanita Tikaram or Simple Minds they might appear on a hillside with hair blowing in the wind, wistfully staring away into an open expanse of sky... In contrast, dance and pop acts are often pictured in a photographic studio environment which emphasises their clothes, hairstyles, make up and visual appearance. It refers to the body and the fashion of the day. There is nothing in the background to interfere or provide a wider set of connotations. Artists in teenage pop magazines such as *Smash Hits, Just 17* and *19* tend to appear in this kind of brightly-lit setting, whereas brands and performers in the *New*

style reveals that the music entirely exists beyond the level of utility and at exchange, and beyond that to sign. As Frith (1990) noted in his study of the band Frankie Goes to Hollywood and their concurrent merchandising drive, the content of the music was entirely eclipsed by the form:

> What is involved in pop is not simply music, but music as articulated through a performer or, rather, though an image of a performer – and if musical meaning is conventional, not natural, so is our sense of pop personality. We read qualities like sincerity, anger, sexuality and warmth into performers because of the way they organise the signs of their personality. The basis of pop performance is not spontaneity (which binds rock to nature) but calculation (which binds pop to culture). And Fry and other new pop stars (Human League, Kid Creole, Soft Cell, Culture Club) also realised that pop works not through any old combination of sound, image and personality, but through their combination as a commercial package. Artistic interest in the making of meaning does not end when the music is made, the record released, the performance over, but is equally invested in the way in which it takes on its public meanings, via the media of television, radio, advertisement, the star system, Fleet Street, gossip columns, poster magazines and so forth. (pp176)

The process that Frith (1990) is describing is one where the lines between making music and marketing a commodity become blurred. This was a process that was best understood and indeed inspired, Frith argued, by pop managers such as Malcolm McLaren. McLaren, over the course of his extraordinary career, managed numerous groups including the New York Dolls and The Sex Pistols (whom he founded). According to Frith & Horne (1987), McLaren's career is marked by a 'do-it-yourself' approach to business coupled with radical theories of image (pp130) – for example they link his collaborations with 'graphic guerrilla' Jamie Reid, image consultants Glitterbest and clothes maker Vivienne Westwood which defined his concept of pop as a 'collision between music, fashion and street action (which) wasn't just a source of imagery and aesthetic life as it had been for the 1960s students, but a *medium*' (pp130). The Sex Pistols, and indeed their rock music predecessors, arrived at a time when television had emerged as a central medium and this had the impact of forcing

musicians to think more about their visual dimensions and according to Frith (1990), shifting the balance between the aural and visual elements of musical production. This process, he argues, emanates from the activities of the record labels in pushing musicians towards constructing their 'music as its own advertisement, as a video spot on MTV' (pp176).

This imbalance between aural and visual can result in confusion as to what the 'authentic' is. For example, one musician who might be regarded as a representative of 'inauthentic' pop is Kylie Minogue, yet as Negus (1999b) identifies Minogue tries to authenticate herself in magazine interviews by acknowledging that when she was young and naïve she really was a 'manipulated puppet', i.e. she no longer is (pp71). Indeed Negus identifies the drives towards exposing the truth beneath the inauthentic as an obsession of music writers, for example, Colonel Tom Parker's manipulation of Elvis is exposed to reveal the true Elvis. Negus takes to task a journalist who attempted to expose the myth in both the imagery and music of Bruce Springsteen. The journalist wrote 'the small-town male American experience detailed in his songs has achieved the status of a new American mythology and amazingly, this cultural self-image has been accepted all over the world – sales of the album already amount to five million' (cited by Negus, 1999b:pp73).

For Negus (1999b) this attempt to expose the myth is arrogant; he asks 'who believes this myth? And how? Everyone who purchased Springsteen's albums around the world, regardless of the contexts within which they viewed and heard him?' (pp73) Instead of launching the critique on the basis of a reading of the text and image with a view to exposing a purported authenticity as false, Negus argues that we should

instead ask *how* the myth relates to a concrete experience and dialogue between the artist and audience. We should not accept, he argues, that the myth is transmitted, accepted and successfully persuades consumers to purchase the commodity (pp74). To expose a myth, he argues, is to fail to understand that it is these very myths, legends and stories that 'people live their lives by' which leaves us with the problem of what is *behind* the myth. For Negus what lies behind the myth of Springsteen is easily understood:

> Within the myth of Bruce Springsteen is a human being called Bruce Springsteen. Inside the electronically mediated voice in the stadium and on the recording, is another voice. Regardless of whether Springsteen is the sole author of the meanings which have become associated with him, and whether he really lives the stories he narrates, it is the human being Bruce Springsteen who sings and speaks of these experiences that audiences are responding to. (pp74)

This perspective, whereby consumers balance their sense of belief and disbelief, can be related back to the Adornian concept (see section 1.5.6) of a dialectic of the commodity form. Yes the myth is inauthentic, and the utility is buried underneath the exchange value, however, there may be some element not entirely constituted by the commodity process that provides grounds for optimism that may be understood under Bataille's (1997) classical consumption (see section 1.5.4). Whilst this utility form may exist through some 'foggy mist', Negus argues:

> It is across the foggy mist – where marketing staff acknowledge that consumers are 'pretty sussed'; where artists are aware of the techniques they must employ to reach audiences; and where fans are quite capable of acknowledging the hype, the myths, the games and marketing ploys they participate in whilst still finding pleasure in the products – it is across these webs of beliefs and desires that the 'authentic' character of Springsteen is articulated; not as a false point of origin, nor a mobile sign without a referent; but as a relationship between people. (pp74)

So, following this mid-range theory conversation, we can arrive at an understanding of how, through the advice of band managers and record label marketing personnel,

musicians become encouraged to focus on their image and the balance shifts from aural to visual and from content to style. As this results in musicians drawing from existing myths, the charge of inauthenticity can be levelled. However, despite this, at the heart of musical production, there can remain, at some level, an honest attempt to perform music, and audiences often have a level of sophistication to balance their appreciation of musicians with a sense of belief and disbelief.

However, we should not necessarily accept this democratic perspective from Negus. In a sense this focus on image helps us to see that music almost entirely exists at the level of exchange or sign value. In this sense, it is important to distinguish between what is perceived as authentic and what has classical utility value. Applying a critical theory perspective would require that the researcher notes that there is a discrepancy between the object reality, which is that the image of Bruce Springsteen is indeed that, an image, and the subject reality, that the image is accepted as content. Whilst further analysis might uncover that consumers are not so totally duped as might be expected [indeed Adorno himself supervised empirical research that came to the same conclusion – see (Adorno, 2002d)], the discrepancy does point towards a negative dialectic, especially when the perceived authenticity of Springsteen is not defined against what Adorno would describe as 'authentic art' (as described in section 1.5.6), but rather the perceived inauthenticity of other musicians, such as Britney Spears. Indeed authenticity can also seem to be inversely proportionate to popularity, as Featherstone (1991) identifies, styles can become linked to lifestyles and modes of distinction (see a discussion of Bourdieu in section 1.4.2) as popular music comes to be seen as devalued, for example the teenagers who abandoned The Beatles once they had been passed down the market to 'teeny, weeny boppers and kiddypop and up the

market to the adults and the middle aged' (Featherstone, 1991:pp92). A real life illustration of these processes is here presented with a consideration of authenticity in the career of Lou Reed.

3.4.1.2 Illustration – Lou Reed

By way of illustration, this research considers this idea of perceived authenticity versus the Adornian concept of authentic art based on an analysis of the musician Lou Reed, who is saddled with the image of authenticity (Negus, 1999b). The question might then be asked, how did Lou Reed come to be tagged with the label of authenticity? In order to answer this it is necessary to consider his career as a whole.

Lou Reed received a formal education in liberal arts in both New York University and Syracuse where he studied a variety of subjects including music theory, opera history and literature (Wrenn, 1993). During this time Lou Reed developed an avid taste in contemporary jazz; his heroes included the free jazz specialist Ornette Coleman who sought to bring high modernist art principles to jazz. Reed had his own campus radio show featuring contemporary jazz (Bowman, 1991). Whilst in university, Reed befriended the poet Delmore Schwartz who encouraged him to develop his writing skills. Apparently, shortly before his death Schwartz had warned him: 'I'm gonna be leaving for a world far better than this soon but I want you to know that if you ever sell out and go and work for Madison Avenue or write junk I will haunt you' (Bowman, 1991:pp4). Therefore we can see that the young Lou Reed was very much schooled in highbrow culture.

Reed's musical career, however, commenced with writing b-pop imitation songs such as *The Ostrich* and *I've Got a Tiger in my Tank*. Following this work, Lou Reed

formed the band The Velvet Underground (Bowman, 1991). The group included the classically trained viola player John Cale who had been a member of Lamont Young's Dream Syndicate. Young is currently regarded as a key figure in the development of modernist music (Shaw-Miller, 2002). The outcome was a band that combined 'high' art with 'low' art resulting in music that is difficult to classify. The group were managed and produced by the renowned pop artist Andy Warhol (Sanders, 1998). Warhol's pop art, instead of serving to act as oppositional to the dominant logic of the culture industry which Adorno & Horkheimer claim is contradictory, sought to celebrate the commercial content of the art (Frith and Horne, 1987). Hence Warhol's art was mass produced in a factory and he appropriated signs of the consumer society, such as Campbell soup tins, and declared them works of art (Baudrillard, 1998; Frith and Horne, 1987; Whiting, 1997). The pop art movement sought to become homogenous with the immanent order of signs and hence the appropriation of art by commerce was inverted and a more reflexive relationship emerged (Baudrillard, 1998).

In The Velvet Underground, Andy Warhol sought to develop music that would be antithetical to the standardised forms of musical production but paradoxically insisted that the band be fronted by the photogenic German model Nico. The group's music is unnerving featuring drones, distortion and dissonance whilst the lyrics deal with radio-unfriendly themes such as heroin addiction, sado-masochism, transvestites, homosexuality and the abuse of women – adult themes in what was regarded as an adolescent art form (Sanders, 1998). The music became part of a multimedia package named *The Exploding Plastic Inevitable* which integrated music, film and dance and toured the USA (Sanders, 1998). They also produced the album *The Velvet*

Underground and Nico which achieved low sales yet in time achieved high critical acclaim resulting in the Velvets being described as the second most influential band of the 60s, after The Beatles (Bowman, 1991). Lou Reed described the experience of working with Warhol as follows:

> Andy told me that what we were doing with music was the same thing that he was doing with painting and movies and writing, i.e. not kidding around. To my mind nobody in music was doing anything that even approximated the real thing, with the exception of us. We were doing a specific thing that was very, very real. It wasn't slick or a lie in any conceivable way, which was the only way we could work with him. Because the first thing I liked about Andy was the he was very real. (cited in Wrenn, 1993:pp19)

Subsequent to the demise of the Velvet Underground, Lou Reed achieved commercial success with his collaboration with David Bowie in the 1973 album *Transformer* (Wrenn, 1993). The hit was the song *Walk on the Wild Side* and was an unlikely contender for popular appeal. The song overtly describes a number of characters involved in unsavoury behaviour including consuming speed, male prostitution, transexuality and performing sexual acts. Apparently the song's success emanated from a stand-in DJ on BBC playing the song in a fit of rebellion (Wrenn, 1993). By contrast Reed's follow up album, *Berlin,* was far less commercial and deliberately unpleasant in theme and style, such as the song *The Kids* written about social workers taking children away from their mother. The song fades out to the heavily compressed and distorted sound of children crying for their mother, creating a gruesome effect – as the album producer Ezrin stated simply, 'most people can't listen to it' and the renowned reviewer Lester Bang described the album as a 'brilliance you'd hate to get trapped with' (both cited in Bowman, 1991:pp16). Lou Reed's manager was convinced that the album would spell the end of Lou Reed's career (Bowman, 1991) whilst his label, RCA, insisted that he could never produce a similar album again (Wrenn, 1993).

Perhaps as a consequence RCA ensured that the 1974 follow-up album *Sally Can't Dance* was a far more commercially driven album and they were rewarded by the album becoming a Top 10 hit in the USA (Wrenn, 1993). However, the album was a serious case of disillusionment for Lou Reed as was described by one of the session musicians Michael Fonfara, "Lou was going, 'oh to hell with it, do it any way you like'... He almost disinvolved himself because he wasn't that crazy about the album. He didn't feel comfortable with the American black side of that sound. He was having fun when we did it but I think he hates himself for having fun doing it because it wasn't exactly what he wanted. I think he wanted something a little more sensitive, more of an esoteric feel to the album" (Bowman, 1991:pp19). Following the album's commercial success, Reed made no secret of his contempt for the album in an interview for Gig magazine: 'this is fantastic – the worse I am, the more it sells. If I wasn't on the record at all next time around, it would probably go number one' (cited in Bowman, 1991:pp19), and in a later interview, 'I hate *Sally Can't Dance*. I just can't write songs you can dance to. I make an effort, and *Sally Can't Dance* was an effort. But I despise that album' (cited in Wrenn, 1993:pp69).

In other albums Reed was to actively oppose any attempts to commercialise his music, often going to extraordinary lengths as was described by Fonfara who occasionally made suggestions to Reed:

> Every once in a while he would say, 'Yes I know you're giving me the perfect commercial way to present my stuff. I don't want it to be perfect. I want you to mess it up for me. If you can't I'll mess it up myself'. He used to demand the wrong bass notes, ones that didn't belong. He'd say, 'I don't care if it's wrong, it's there' (Bowman, 1991:pp28)

The tension between the commercial pressure being exerted upon Reed by his management and label came to a crisis during the production of his subsequent album

Coney Island Baby. Reed was informed that he couldn't release the tapes resulting in Reed sacking his manager then being forced to tour so to subsidise the album's completion (Bowman, 1991). As Reed was contractually obliged to record a further album, his response was the album *Metal Machine Music* – described by Fonfara as a 'genuine coup on his part against the record label' (Bowman, 1991:pp21). The double album comprised of Lou Reed generating feedback on amplifiers and was exempt of any rhythm, melody or harmony – simply a double album consisting of noise. The back of the album's sleeve cover included a series of scientific and technical symbols outlining the method of production employed and Reed claimed that careful listening would reveal hidden quotations of orchestral pieces. He later admitted that the diagrams were meaningless gobbledygook and that there were no hidden classical themes (Bowman, 1991). Also in the sleeve notes he wrote; 'I'd harboured hope that the intelligence that once inhabited novels or films would ingest rock. I was, perhaps, wrong' (cited in Bowman, 1991:pp24). In subsequent interviews he described the album as a gesture towards his fans, management, record company who had sought to wrestle the creative control out of his hands, and that he expected it to be his last album ever (Bowman, 1991). Reed described the album as follows:

> It was a giant 'fuck you'. I put out *Metal Machine Music* to clear the air and get rid of all those fucking assholes who show up at the show and yell (requests for) *Vicious* and *Walk on the Wild Side* (Wrenn, 1993).

Throughout this time Lou Reed's blunt hostility to those who sought to wrestle creative control away from him was evident. Indeed the live video of the concert where a member of the audience shouts out a request for the song *Heroin* is responded to with a prompt and colourful rebuttal. Music critics have constantly received hostile treatment from Lou Reed even when they were being complimentary. On his live album *Take No Prisoners*, Reed bursts into a monologue which includes a response to

the New York Times cultural critic John Rockwell, who had given positive reviews to his work:

> Wow man, you know how heavy it is to get reviewed by Rockwell and he says that you're intelligent, fuck you, I don't need you to tell me that I'm good. (Reed, 1978)

Reed described the album later as follows:

> There was no way you could save that record from not being air-playable. There were so many things, that you just wouldn't know where to start. Which is why I did it in private, and no-one got to hear it till the end. By the time I gave them the album, there was nothing anybody could do, it was just an unfortunate accepted fact (Wrenn, 1993:pp101).

In 1985 Reed embraced what is considered the most extreme form of commercialism (Englis and Pennell, 1994) and signed an advertising contract with Honda motor scooters and latterly with American Express to advertise credit cards (Bockris, 1994). According to Honda manager Neil Leventhal; 'Reed is an innovator, one of the pioneers of new music. His music is unique and experimental – much like scooters' (Wrenn, 1993:pp120). Accused of selling out, Reed responded in a number of ways. He asked; 'Who else could make a scooter hip?' (pp120) and simply stated 'I do commercials for money and to try and sell my records. The main thing is to get people to listen to the records because I really like them and I think that people would really like them' (pp120). And finally 'what I see myself as is a writer. Whether I'm a nice guy, whether I'm a liar, whether I'm immoral, should have nothing to do with it' (pp120).

In subsequent years Lou Reed continued to produce a constant recording output (though unsurprisingly not with RCA) dealing with dark themes, amongst others. In 1987, during the height of the AIDS epidemic, he produced the social protest album *New York* and followed it up with *Magic and Loss*, an attempt to deal with the

emotions surrounding the death of close friends. The outcome is a highly personal and morbid album and was described by the composer Philip Glass: 'its not music that's made as a reaction to a marketplace. It's a music that really comes from your inside and by that I mean Lou's own consciousness' (Sanders, 1998). To promote the album, Reed embarked on a tour in which he insisted that the normal proprieties of rock concerts would be prohibited; the audience were instructed to listen in silence. 'I'm trying to move the audience in a certain direction' he declared, 'I do want to bring them with me. But I also must do this for myself. It's not a matter of choice; it's just the way it has to be. And I'm willing to lose part of the audience if that's what it takes. Although I certainly hope they come along on this little trek' (Bockris, 1994:pp382).

In recent years Lou Reed collaborated with Robert Wilson to create the modernist theatre show *Timelines* then toured Europe giving a series of poetry recitals based on his lyrics. His latest album, *The Raven,* is perhaps his most ambitious work in that it is based upon the poetry and prose of Edgar Allen Poe and incorporates various forms of music including free jazz, gospel singing and avant-garde styles.

In interpreting the career of Lou Reed and locating it within the conversation regarding authenticity, two separate and contradictory pictures of Lou Reed emerge and both are considered here. First we can celebrate Lou Reed as a hero of Adornian art; his music seeks to accomplish authenticity by denouncing and rejecting authenticity itself as a myth (see section 1.5.6). He achieves this by not denying that he is a commercial musician, yet stringently and inconsistently rebelling within this commercial domain. He has marketed himself as an authentic rebel within the rock

world and then embraced the most conceivably inauthentic action: to make a commercial. He has constantly both rebelled against and excelled in the mechanisms of the culture industry in often very contradictory and ironic ways. On the one level he has attacked and marginalized his audiences, seemingly staying aloof from the 'game', he has reacted against his own commercial success with bringing out what could be described as anti-commodity albums, yet on the other he has embraced the most obvious form of commercialism by taking part in an ad. In his defence he has asked his fans not to consider his aesthetic morality but instead to focus on his writing, clearly a desire for fans to focus on the utility of his music rather than the exchange value – just as he prohibited his fans from applauding during his *Magic and Loss* concert. At the level of form his music is regressive (see the next paragraph), in the Adornian sense, yet his lyrics have drawn 'high' art inspiration such as the poetry of Poe and are expansionary.

On the other hand Lou Reed's music is a deception. At a cursory glance his music falls into the category that Adorno described as standardised production. The three chords that comprise the riff of *Sweet Jane,* for example, and the basic structure of his work immediately resonate with Adorno's description of standardised, childish music – as though he had written it specifically about Reed:

> These signs, of course, confine themselves to the three tonic major chords and exclude any meaningful harmonic progression... It swarms with mistakes in phrasing and harmony. There are wrong pitches, incorrect doublings of thirds, fifths and octave progressions and all sorts of illogical treatments of voices, sometimes in the bass (Adorno, 2002b:pp51).

Hence a musicological analysis of Reed's canon will locate his work within the most strongly condemned culture industry produce as described by Adorno. Whilst the contents of his lyrics certainly challenge the status quo and often fall into the category

of social protest (best exemplified by the album *New York*), his subjugation into the world of the culture industry should result, according to Adorno, in the message being rendered powerless.

At this level of analysis the musical output of Lou Reed falls into the mode of culture industry and cannot be regarded as having oppositional power. Worse, as the music appears to offer resistance, it does so within the confines and tolerance of the culture industry and hence is reduced to none at all; the music actually deceives the audience into believing it is being served oppositional discourse. As the form and structure of the music itself calls for regressive listening, whilst masquerading as high art, the music will typically be listened to by those enthusiasts who actively seek out his music as it does not receive frequent radio play. Therefore, those who listen to the music seeking resistance are carrying out a pseudo-activity which serves to further integrate them into the dominant structure (Adorno, 2002a:pp54).

From this illustration we can see the problematics of dealing with discourses of authenticity for musicians operating in the music industry. Further, this tension can be seen as a specific contextualisation of the issues identified as emerging from the grand theory conversation in chapter one, namely, can music retain utility value in current culture industry and consumer society conditions? Musicians such as Bruce Springsteen, Lou Reed and even Kylie Minogue are shown to be concerned with negotiating this tension. However this can be rendered impossible, as the only possible way of appearing authentic is to refer to the myth or the sign or the style of authenticity, rendering the act inauthentic in the process. According to Negus, the existence of music at such exchange or sign level need not rule out an underlying

utility value and an Adornian analysis reveals how two radically different interpretations of the career of Lou Reed can be drawn.

The illustration of the career of Lou Reed demonstrates how the processes of 'marketing and artist development' can frame our understanding of the degrees of authenticity associated with musicians. Because a degree of 'packaging' takes place does not negate the artistic intention that musicians carry, and we can see, from the illustration of Lou Reed how musicians do engage in mediating their utility value and their exchange value.

The following section considers the second domain of contention which can arise between musician and record labels; music copyright.

3.4.2 Music Copyright

The legal framework relating to music copyright differs from country to country. However, there are a number of common features that allow for a general treatise of how music copyright functions (Krasilovsky and Shemel, 2000). Copyright tends to refer to a number of different rights lumped together under one title: for example, 'film rights', 'stage rights', 'publishing rights' (Althouse, 1984). In most western legal systems the copyright rests initially with the author(s). Often numerous people participate in the music production process gauging where the authorship lies can be problematic and, according to Krasilovsky and Shemel (2000) is often a matter of negotiation between the parties involved.

The point of origin or authorship in music is not always obvious or comfortably established. A recent high profile case was provided in the London courts when the composer Monty Norman sued the *Sunday Times* over an article that claimed that John Barry was the rightful composer of the famous *James Bond Theme.* It transpired John Barry had been drafted in at late notice to improve the piece of music that Norman had been developing. The question was what was the point of origination? (BBC-News, 2001) Another example is provided by Hesmondhalgh (2002) who argues that copyright laws on origin can be confusing in cases of culture which places a greater emphasis on oral tradition and the passing on of tunes. Indeed this practice has caused some chaos in Irish traditional music with pieces of music not in the public domain being claimed to be so (Vallely, 2001), whilst Feld (2000) gives an interesting account of how Jan Garbarek used a piece of Baegu music in such circumstances and with controversial outcomes. As sampling becomes more common in musical production, this problem of origination is increasingly becoming one not just associated with traditional music but with contemporary music too (Hesmondhalgh, 2002).

As copyright is a transferable commodity, for efficient management purposes the copyright tends to be managed by a publisher (Althouse, 1984). Often the contract between author and publisher typifies the uses to which the publisher is entitled to commercially exploit the copyright, this may range from negotiating fees for licensing deals, encouraging other musicians to perform the composition or attracting the interest of record labels. The publisher manages the licensing of the music and collects the royalties on behalf of the author(s) usually taking a percentage (Harrison, 2000). Hence the role of the publisher can be understood as being an agent.

3.4.2.1 Mechanical Copyright

The mechanical copyright gives the owner of a sound recording the exclusive rights to reproduce it, to distribute the records to the public and to make derivative works based thereon (Krasilovsky and Shemel, 2000). In order to reproduce somebody else's music, it is necessary to seek a license from the copyright holder and this process, known as licensing, tends to be the main source of income for composers (Harrison, 2000). For example, a record contract typically consists of the musician (or their publisher or copyright administrator) granting a license to reproduce a recording. Typically (depending on the nature of the contract) the author(s) then receives a royalty every time a reproduction is sold or publicly performed (such as on the radio or background music in a shop). The fee relating to licensing can be based upon the recommended figures by the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society (MCPS) - who operate in UK and Ireland - or new rates can be negotiated between publisher and label.

3.4.2.2 Synchronisation Copyright

Synchronisation rights relates to licenses granted for music to be used alongside moving visual images such as a film or a television advertisement. In exchange for this license, the bidder pays a synchronisation fee and the size of this is negotiable or, very often, what is recommended by MCPS rates (Harrison, 2000). Depending on the desirability of a particular synchronisation fee, the publisher can sometimes negotiate large fees for issuing a license, for example, Microsoft reportedly paid $12million for the rights to use the song *Start Me Up* by the Rolling Stones for their Windows 95 campaign (Allison, 1995). Sometimes musicians deliberately specify in their contract

with their publishers that they refuse to allow any synchronisation rights for advertisements (Weiner, 1991). In other cases the author(s) can demand that the publisher seeks permission from them before issuing a synchronisation license because allowing music to be used in advertisements is regarded as an emotive issue incurring discourses of sell-out (for example see section 2.5.3.1).

3.4.2.3 Performing Rights

This form of copyright relates to the public performance of music, including live concerts, the provision of background music or Muzak (see section 3.2) or the right to include the music in a cable broadcast service (e.g. television, radio). As collecting this money is a huge undertaking, generally publishers become members of bodies like Performing Rights Society (PRS) in UK and Irish Music Rights Organisation (IMRO) who collect money from premises on behalf of publishers and composers. These organisations typically grant a 'blanket license' to premises which allows them to play any music over the course of a year (Harrison, 2000). The royalties collected can constitute a significant proportion of an author's income.

3.4.2.4 The Record Contract

According to Negus (1999b) recording contracts tend to take on similar basic characteristics. Typically a record company agrees to advance a specified amount of money to musicians in order to produce a record. The record label then licenses the recordings from the authors and commits to paying a royalty percentage on the sales of the recording once the initial advance has been repaid (note this is an additional royalty to those listed above). The contract typically lasts a set amount of time and during this time the musician is obliged to deliver a certain number of recordings (i.e.

enough to make an album). Unless the recording generates enough royalties to repay the advance, the musicians will receive no money from their contract and according to Harrison, the record labels claim that the 'vast majority' of musicians do not recoup the advance (Harrison, 2000). In this sense the contract can take the form of a tax-free loan to musicians and the role of the record label can be compared to a bank. According to Negus (1999b), the contract between record companies and musicians is 'one with legal obligations on both sides, in which a balance of power is negotiated between artists, who are dependent upon record companies to reach potential audiences, and record companies who are dependant upon artists for images and musical material' (pp43).

In some cases copyright can be assigned to the record company in an outright transfer of ownership of rights by the owner to the record company. In some cases the copyright is returned to the author(s) after a specified period, and in others the copyright remains with the label (Harrison, 2000). Hence in certain conditions, where the musician fails to recoup the advance, not only do they not make any money out of the contract but they also lose the ownership to their own music. As an alternative to an assignment, the copyright may be licensed to the record company, which means that the copyright holder (i.e. the author(s) or publisher) keeps the copyright but grants the licensee permission to do certain things with the copyright for a period of time (Harrison, 2000).

Within this system there are plenty of opportunities for abuse, for example, unfair assignment, the royalty being set at an unfairly low rate, meaning that the musicians never have a realistic opportunity to repay the advance. According to Negus (1999b)

the days in which inexperienced musicians sign unfair contracts are 'by no means over' (pp43), however, he argues that musicians are now accredited with being much more commercially minded and aware of what the contractual relationship with a record company entails and have far better access nowadays to legal advice. Indeed he states that some record companies stipulate in their contract that the musicians must seek independent advice before signing (Negus, 1999b). Nevertheless, Harrison shows that in recent times some of the most prominent musicians in the British scene have been involved in legal disputes with their record labels including George Michael, Robbie Williams, Joan Armatrading, Elton John, Holly Johnson (of Frankie Goes to Hollywood), Spandau Ballet, The Stone Roses, Wet Wet Wet, George Harrison & Ringo Starr and The Cure (Harrison, 2000).

Royalties as a means of rewarding musicians, means that most creative workers are not paid wages (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). According to Miége (1987) this has the impact of forcing musicians to bear the costs of conception on behalf of the record companies by foregoing the benefits of secure working conditions and earning relatively little when they do. Hesmondhalgh (2002) argues that this system is allowed to reproduce itself because of the permanent oversupply of artistic labour, with a large amount of non-professional musicians who work occasionally and take other jobs to subsidise their musical activities (pp57). The outcome is that many musicians are either underemployed 'at least in terms of the creative work they actually want to do' (pp57). A key factor in this, according to Hesmondhalgh, has been the failure of musicians to act collectively to defend their interests against low pay and exploitation, and this is in part due to the intense competition between musicians and the promise of inordinately huge rewards for those who do make the 'big time'. However, care

must be taken not to consider the music industry as a static mechanism, in fact, as the following section illustrates, it is an industry in a constant complex state of flux.

3.4.3 Change in the Music Industry

According to Hesmondhalgh (2002) the cultural industries are marked by constant patterns of change and continuity. He identifies some of the major transformation, which they have undergone since the early 1980s as including (pp1-2):

- The cultural industries have moved closer to the centre of economic action and power in many countries and across much of the world
- The ownership and organisation of cultural industries have changed radically. The largest companies no longer specialise in a particular cultural industry but rather operate as conglomerates across a number of different fields, connected in complex webs of alliance, partnership and joint venture
- There are more and more small and medium sized companies operating in cultural industries
- Cultural products are increasingly circulated across national borders and the domination of cultural trade by the USA may be diminishing
- There has been a proliferation of new communication technologies and of applications of existing technologies
- The conception of audiences is changing with greater emphasis placed on audience research, marketing and on addressing 'niche' audiences
- Cultural policy and regulation have undergone significant shifts with important policy decisions increasingly conducted at an international level
- There has been a huge boom in the amount of money spent on advertising, this has helped to fuel the 'spectacular growth' of the cultural industries
- The cultural tastes and habits of audiences have become more complex. The production and consumption of cultural texts and the turnover of tastes and fashions have quickened

Despite all these often radical changes and transformations, Hesmondhalgh (2002) writes that there is great continuity too; for example, he identifies that television still continues to play a huge role as a source of entertainment and information, stars continue to be the main mechanism of promotion and the USA is still thought of as the world centre for popular culture. Therefore, Hesmondhalgh reads the culture

industries as engaged in constant cycles of change and continuity (Hesmondhalgh, 2002:pp3).

One of the more radical changes that has taken place is the digitalisation of media. Hesmondhalgh warns against the exaggeration and hype of supposedly new media stating that it is 'paramount to assess such claims carefully and soberly' (pp198). Whilst the digitalisation has had a massive impact upon the production of music and working practices of musicians through the development of new instrumentation such as samplers, sequencers and MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) (Goodwin, 1992), this section is more interested in the implications for the promotion and distribution of music as well as the implications for the ownership of sounds, and how financial rewards for the sales of musical works are distributed via copyright.

The traditional distribution channels are also being affected by digitalisation with the company Napster allowing consumers to exchange MP3 files over the internet without any royalties being paid to musicians. Napster came to be associated with a rapid level of growth, aggregating over ten million users in six months and attaining a growth rate of 200,000 users in a single day providing free access to and download of over 2 million copyrighted songs archived on the private hard drives of 60 million subscribers world-wide (Giesler and Pohlmann, 2002). Whilst the legality of this practice has been challenged by both the music industry and a collection of musicians including Metallica, Elton John, Dr Dre and Lou Reed, who demanded a stop to the exchange of their music without copyright payments (Boyd, 2000). As Elton John said at the time 'There is no respect and compensation for creative work because of Napster's actions' and as Dr Dre commented 'Napster are abusing artists' (Boyd,

2000). The collective action succeeded in forcing Napster to cease providing music for free. Whilst a semblance of order may have returned subsequently, the vulnerability of the music industry to the internet did not go unnoticed, Napster after all was created by a first year student in his spare time (Giesler and Pohlmann, 2002). In recent times the music industry has moved to sell their music online and through departures such as I-tunes, have crafted a new distribution channel which challenges traditional modes. Other new departures include people downloading music to play as a dial-tone on their mobile phones, which reportedly accounts for as high as 15% of music industry profits (Lynn, 2004).

According to Hesmondhalgh (2002) whilst the enormous concentrations of power within the culture industries have not been cancelled out by the rise of the internet, this change has merely represented a 'disturbance' (pp214). For musicians the internet provides opportunities to develop micro-networks selling their music directly to their market. This coupled with the increasing access that musicians have to buy their own studio and recording equipment at lower prices (Goodwin, 1992) creates the potential for musicians to by-pass the normal cultural industry mechanisms and institutions and provide an alternative means of income. The reliance of musicians on the internet shows how musicians are starting to manage their careers outside of the normal mechanisms of the music industry institutions. Such changes have been marked by a wider degree of institutional co-existence and this is investigated in the following section.

3.4.3.1 Institutional Co-Existence

Apart from changes in technology, there have also been significant changes, as identified by Hesmondhalgh, is the increased levels of institutional co-existence. One area where there appears to be a much higher degree of convergence is the relationship between the music industry and the advertising industry. As noted in ection 2.4.6, the emphasis of music in marketing tends to be moving towards the licensing of existing music as a referent, opposed to sanctioning the composition of jingles. In a sense we can now understand musical fit as a type of organisational branding and hence the field of work undertaken by advertising practitioners and music industry workers becomes increasingly similar.

Within the field of organisational sociology, it has been claimed by Di Maggio & Powell (1983) that once disparate organisations in the same line of business are structured into an actual field, powerful forces emerge that lead them to become more similar to one another. This leads, they argued, to institutional isomorphism as these organisations start to appear increasingly homogenous. Notably it has also been argued by Meyer & Rowan (1977) that the formal structures of organisations reflect the myths of their institutional environments rather than the demands of their specific work activities. As noted in this chapter, the myth of theory x versus theory y is replicated throughout the fields of the culture industry and as the organisations increasingly find themselves engaged in the same field, there is potential for institutional isomorphism which can lead to increased potential for institutional co-existence.

There are numerous examples of increases in institutional co-existence between the advertising and music industry. For example, EMI have created a subdivision

publishing house in France named Ressources to liaise specifically with advertisers (see (emimusicpub.com, 2004). Following the successful licensing of a song to an advertiser, the record label then seeks to release the song as a single in order to take advantage of the additional promotion and air-play it receives.

Another example of institutional coexistence is within the domain of in-store background music. For example, a major part of Old Navy in-store environment is the music, which is carefully selected by their 'Visual Merchandising Team'. Their in-store music forms the basis of their own compilation CDs which they then sell directly to customers. According to Old Navy PR Manager Debbie Gardner, 'the main reason why we got into the business is that music is a really important part of our stores, and customers really wanted to bring home the sound of Old Navy' (Kirsner, 1997). The practice of companies using music in this way appears to be growing. Other chains producing CD compilations of their in-store music include Starbucks, Urban Outfitters, Pottery Barn, Banana Republic and Victoria's Secret. 'Playing music in a store is an expense', says George Whalin, President of Retail Management consultants of San Marcos, California, 'selling CDs is a way to make that expense pay for itself. It becomes a benefit to the bottom line, and it gets the customer to think about your store when they take it home, or they're listening to it in the car' (Kirsner, 1997).

A good example of this process is provided by the retailers Putumayo Clothing Company, whose customers were so enamoured with their eclectic choice of background music that they decided to expand their business in order to release albums of their background music. As they had already developed an image (both oral and aural), they decided to expand into coffee and book shop markets (see

www.putumayo.com). A contemporary and exciting development regarding the personalisation of the background music experience is provided by Starbucks who, at the time of writing, are developing a number of experimental stores in Seattle and Texas (X-Radio-Press-Release, 2004). As noted in the previous section, Starbucks own their own record label named Hear Music. They are now installing Hear Music Media Bars within their own cafes. At these bars customers are given the opportunity to search Starbucks' digital library of over 150,000 songs. Customers can then choose and listen to tracks and burn them to CD which will sell for below the typical CD market prices. Customers will be able to create full-length albums and also design and print their own album artwork to go with their burned CDs. In these examples of institutional co-existence, coffee shop, background music supplier and record label all merge into one.

This reflects the growing opportunities that are presented to musicians to benefit from having music used in advertisements. As opposed to the suspicions and accusations of sell-out that have traditionally occurred when musicians license music to adverts (for example see the illustration of when Nike used *Revolution* by the Beatles for an ad – 2.5.3.1), there is evidence of a growing sense of reflexivity amongst musicians and advertisers (Bradshaw et al., 2004; Bradshaw et al., 2003) as they explore the commercial opportunities made available by licensing to advertisers whilst retaining their authentic image. For example, Moby has had every single song on his *Play* album licensed for over 600 products generating an estimated $60 to $70 million in the process. Almost certainly as a consequence of the exposure he gained from advertising, his album went on to become the highest selling album of 2001 selling in excess of eleven million copies (Coffey, 2002).

Part of the attraction of licensing is that often advertisers can be more catholic in their selection of music, looking for something differential for a campaign, as opposed to radio which seeks something similar to what already exists (De Marco, 2002). In many cases the opportunities associated with advertising are so potentially high, that publishers sometimes waive the synchronisation license fee (note they will still receive the public performance royalty each time the song is played – see section 3.4.2.3). For example, the group The Dandy Warhols released the song *Bohemian Like You* as a single in 2000; it hit its peak at no. 42 in the charts. The following year the song was licensed without a synchronisation fee to Vodafone who used it in a high profile and high frequency television advertising campaign. The song was then re-released and peaked at No. 5, it received heavy airplay and the band was launched onto the mainstream (Coffey, 2002).

Resistance to licensing for advertising continues to exist as do discourses of sell-out (Bradshaw et al., 2004; Bradshaw et al., 2003; Englis and Pennell, 1994) and musicians such as Jim Densmore and Tom Waits have published their opinions that musicians should not sell to advertisers in the pages of *Nation* magazine (see Densmore, 2002; Waits, 2002). However, in recent times there is growing evidence that the taboo of music in ads is not so great. Consider, for example, the transition of Bob Dylan from the counterculture hero who wrote the following lyrics in the 1965 song *It's Alright Ma (I'm Only Bleeding):*

> Advertising signs that con you
> Into thinking you're the one
> That can do what's never been done
> That can win what's never been won
> Meantime life outside goes on
> All around you. (cited in Popham, 2004:pp3)

In 2004 Dylan suddenly found advertising less of an evil when he not only licensed the song *Love Sick* for an ad for lingerie sellers Victoria's Secret, but also personally *appeared* in the ad.

3.4.4 Music Industry Personnel – Record Label Personnel

The colourful nature of some music industry key figures is well documented, with characters such as Colonel Tom Saunders, Malcolm McLaren and Brian Epstein emerging as celebrity figures themselves (Frith and Horne, 1987). The recent autobiography of the CBS President Walter Yetnikoff (Yetnikoff and Ritz, 2004) illustrates his wild life as the notorious 'monstrous mogul' whose lifestyle of sex, drugs and rock n'roll makes most rock rebels look like alter boys, whilst at the time of writing, the infamous producer and record label owner Phil Spector is facing charges of murder. The existence of such characters is difficult to equate with what Frith (1991) identifies as the common underlying narrative of discourses relating to the musician and the music industry of good versus evil, whereby the musician is a creative person marginalized by a philistine and commercially orientated business. This 'standard story' is referred to by Frank (1997) as follows: 'business was the great symbolic foil against which the young rebels defined themselves; business was the force of irredeemable evil lurking behind the orderly lawns of suburbia and the nefarious needs of the Pentagon' (pp18). Instead as several studies identify (Hesmondhalgh, 1999, 2002; Negus, 1999a, 1999b), music industry personnel can be just as creative as the musicians signed to their label.

In some cases the music industry has deliberately used the myth of good versus evil to its advantage and the emergence of the Indie music genre is an example of this.

According to Negus (1999b) by the 1980s record companies noted that consumers were looking for 'street credibility' music associated with independent record labels. The 'ground-breaking independent record company – the 'indie' – imbued with connotations of a radical, alternative and more sincere ways of producing music, has become part of the everyday theory of rock fans. This movement was defined by a romantic ideology informing the buying habits of a student-based sub-cultural group in Britain during the 1980s, and resulted in the construction of an audience whose musical taste had been informed by making this direct connection between the value of the music and the record label releasing it' (pp16). The major labels responded by creating bogus sub-labels designed to appear independent but actually were part of the major label.

While some of these labels were mere flags of convenience, others were genuine attempts to provide independent recordings and Hesmondhalgh (1999) has provided some empirical research into the personnel behind them. These genuine 'indie' labels, he wrote, saw themselves 'as a means of reconciling the commercial nature of pop with the goal of artistic autonomy for musicians' (pp35). In many cases some of these labels were swallowed up by major labels and this was in part due to the severe financial difficulties of independence, but also because of the ambition of realising the classic pop dream of 'going global, in the mould of the Beatles' conquest of the global pop market in the 1960s' (Hesmondhalgh, 1999:pp47). Realising this commercial and aesthetic ideal generally required access to money and distribution channels associated with the major labels. Hesmondhalgh (1999) gives an account of one such label, Creation, which he argues, was the most successful and most famous from the period due to its famous personality, Alan McGee, who was responsible for

commercially developing such bands as Primal Scream, The Boo Radleys and Oasis. Rather than being a background figure, McGee was instrumental in determining the creative direction of the musicians signed to his label, and sensing in advance what style the public desired and then finding a group to fill that niche. In the 1990s McGee had declared that Creation would go 'back to basics' with 'authenticity' as the current watchword; 'authenticity', he claimed, 'is to the 90s as marketing was to the 80s' (Hesmondhalgh, 1999:pp49).

McGee found such a group in Oasis who were 'successfully marketed as sufficiently innovative in its reinvention of the rock tradition to be worthy of credibility' (Hesmondhalgh, 2000:pp49). The group's reputation was built by carefully cultivating the approval of key journalists, who McGee organised to party with the band and also by playing low profile gigs and issuing 'rare' white label promotional records in order to build up an underground following amongst opinion leaders in advance of their release to the wider public. Once the group was launched, media stories were carefully leaked, such as the reported violent and rowdy behaviour of the Gallagher brothers (pp49).

The meticulous cultivation of the group by McGee challenges the concept of good versus evil. Whilst Oasis were widely regarded as an authentic group and the leaders of the 'Brit-Pop' movement (pp52), careful inspection demonstrates the huge creativity with which McGee developed this image of 'authenticity'. This challenges the conception of musical production as a mystical process whereby the musician as isolated genius is the mythical hero (Frith and Horne, 1987). Instead the hero of the process emerges as the mastermind who saw the potential. The process by which

McGee saw this potential for Oasis closely mirrors the process described by Holt (2003) in how successful brand managers successfully monitor the zeitgeist in order to develop resonant cultural references (see section 3.3). As already noted in section 3.4.1.1, the supposed 'authenticity' of the musician is often carefully crafted by the record label personnel and the practice of Alan McGee can be considered as a modern day version of how Frith & Horn (1987) described Malcolm McLaren's careful development of the Sex Pistols (also considered in section 3.4.1.1).

A similar study was conducted by Negus (1999a), who studied the departments of record labels responsible for developing rap artists. Noting that the major record labels had neither the inclination, understanding nor skills to deal with rap, a form of music primarily associated with black urban ghettos (Poschardt, 1998), a series of independent labels were able to gain a stranglehold of the market. These people were incorporated into the major label system but in a way which Negus (1999a) shows to be very marginal and contained; 'through confinement within a black division, through arm's-length deals which avoided having to negotiate with various alliances and affiliations' and also through a straightforward lack of investment – i.e. it is cheaper to fund a unit than to develop and directly employ personnel (pp499). In this way rap personnel have not been recruited or embraced into the hub of the music industry, meaning that the micro management of rap remains relatively undiluted by the management practices associated with the more conservative white record labels.

Part of the way that rap is marketed is by going directly to 'the streets' where the target market congregate; barber shops, basketball courts, etc. are directly marketed with the aim of building up such a 'buzz' that the radio stations will feel they have to

programme a recording, as they will want to be seen to be 'in touch with the streets' (pp501). The process of the record labels going to 'the street' entails so-called street teams informally 'hanging out' in colleges, neighbourhood record stores, clubs, playgrounds and parties; an experiential process of 'developing an instinct' by keeping an ear and eye on what is going on (pp502). The so-called street teams are also responsible for gathering and feeding data back to headquarters, though this process elides conventional business practice through the discourse of the street which denies that this is similar to the other activities which are being conducted daily by and initiated from the corporate suite (pp503). Indeed as Poschardt (1998) noted the 'street' is a key place where people go to listen and dance to rap music played on ghetto blasters and therefore, rappers often ensure that they spend time in their local neighbourhoods so not to lose sight of the scene. In this way the behaviour of the record label personnel in rap more closely resembles the behaviour of musicians rather than reified office workers.

The implication of the above is that the people responsible within the music industry for developing rap are just as much in touch with black culture as are the musicians themselves, thus moving away from the image of the musician and industry practitioner as somehow belonging to separate worlds, if not races. Developing this point, Negus (1999) argues that we should not limit our conceptualisation of creativity in the music industry to one where culture is produced by industry but also consider the converse, that culture produces an industry whereby 'production does not take place simply 'within' a corporate environment created according to the requirements of capitalist production or organisational formulae, but in relation to broader cultural formations and practices that may not be directly within the control or comprehension

of the company' (pp490). Within this viewpoint "the activities of those within record companies should be thought of as part of a 'whole way of life' which challenges and blurs distinctions between work and leisure, public and private, professional judgment and personal preference and the broader world of consumption is explicitly connected to that of production (again this relates back to the conversation in chapter one). Negus argues that, echoing Frank (1992), it is therefore 'misleading to view practices within music companies as primarily economic or governed solely by an organisational logic or bureaucratic structure' (pp491).

With this in mind it is worth reflecting on Hesmondhalgh's (2002) stages of cultural production represented below.

Creation

- Conception: composition and execution of songs
- Execution: performance in recording studio
- Transcription

Reproduction

- Duplication in the form of CD copied from a master recording, the music now takes the form that the audience will experience

Circulation

- Marketing: including advertising and packaging
- Publicity: trying to ensure that other organisations provide publicity for the commodity
- Distribution and wholesaling

Whilst Hesmondhalgh notes that the stages do not necessarily follow in this order, as in a conventional factory production line, they do 'overlap, interact and sometimes conflict' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002:pp55), he argues that this model provides a degree of creative autonomy and this is crucial for understanding the cultural industries:

> It shows that the metaphor of the traditional factory production line, often used in critiques of industrial cultural production, entirely misses the point. Because of the history of attitudes towards symbolic creativity, factory-style production is widely felt to be inimical to the kinds of creativity necessary to make profits. Even in the Hollywood studio system, which developed at the beginning of the complex professional era, and which exerted very tight

> control over the conception and execution of films, compared with the control over these stages in other cultural industries, there was still considerable autonomy for screenwriters and directors, within certain formats and genres. (pp56)

In other words, Hesmondhalgh is describing a model whereby creative autonomy is a fundamental part of creative production. However, this reading goes against classical models of marketing which hold that marketing is not just concerned with post-production matters of promotion and distribution, but also with the inception of the product itself (Armstrong and Kotler, 2000).Whilst Hesmondhalgh notes that there is interaction between the different stages, this research argues that it does not make sense to separate the production of music from its marketing. As Adorno & Horkheimer (1998) have argued (see section 1.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.2) the composition and arrangement of music within the culture industry bears all the hallmarks of marketing influence, or as he puts it 'bear the stigmata of capitalism' (cited in Bernstein, 2002:pp2). Rather than seeing the relationship between music and industry as an oppositional one, this chapter has referred to literature which argues that the industry practitioners are often just as creative as the musicians themselves.

This notion of creative managers is supported by Guillet De Monthoux, who has argued that, rather than being an antithesis, commerce itself is an aesthetic endeavour whereby businesses are beginning to look at their firms as works of art operating on an aesthetic space in which the managers are the artists managing the development (Guillet de Monthoux and Strati, 2002). Hesmondhalgh's conception of the music producer only makes sense if we accept the constructs of culture and administration occupying separate domains but as Adorno reminds us, whilst these constructs may be useful in helping us to make sense of the world, they should be understood in terms of

a negative dialectic and separating them, as Hesmondhalgh does, may not reflect the creativity of record label personnel as demonstrated in this chapter. However, the key personnel that this dissertation is concerned with are the musicians themselves and the following section considers this particular occupation within the music industry.

3.4.5 Music Industry Personnel – The Musicians

This section considers musicians collectively noting the trend towards shared values. In doing so it draws from the interactionist approach of occupational community and how this impacts upon self-identity. An important empiricist here is Hughes (1958) who, noting how people defined and judged themselves by their occupation whilst other people judged them by their work, conducted research into work and the notions of self. He studied how people engaged in certain occupations develop a culture, which has its subjective aspects in the collective personality and how they often seek to satisfy their wishes within the context of their colleagues, competitors and fellow workers (pp25). In his fieldwork on real estate agents in Chicago he concluded that the agents were attempting to revise the conceptions which their various publics have of the occupation and the people in it. In so doing, they were, he stated, attempting to revise their own conception of themselves and of their work. Thus the drive to 'professionalise' their occupation was a collective mobility of some people within the occupation (pp44).

This drive is explored further in chapter four in the review of Mozart who, according to Elias's (1993) study of his career, sought to break with the confines of being a court musician and enter the market as a freelance artist. This is a process referred to by Goffman (1990) as 'role enterprise', whereby within a social establishment, 'a particular member attempts to not so much move into a higher position already

established as to create a new position for himself, a position involving duties which suitably express attributes that are congenial to him' (pp240).

The concept of occupational communities was later developed by Salaman (1974), who investigated the particular relationship between mens' work and the rest of their lives and how their non-work lives were permeated by their work relationships, interests and values. He conducted research into various occupational communities including shipbuilders, police, fishermen and jazz musicians and concluded that members of occupational communities live in their own separate world; a mental world composed of assumptions, attitudes, knowledge, expectations and shared history (pp24). A key finding was the degree to which people who derived intrinsic satisfaction from their work tended to not just base their self-image on their work role but also share a value system with others who share this valued activity.

Salaman's (1974) consideration of jazz musicians drew heavily on a study undertaken by Becker (1991) on jazz musicians of Chicago. Observing how their culture and way of life was unconventional and deviant, Becker observed how they were labelled as outsiders by the rest of society. An important consideration here is how people deviate from what is generally considered to be the norm and the reaction of society to that deviation. Becker writes (pp21):

> Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act of the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

Hence deviancy cannot be understood adequately by simply considering the attributes of a person considered deviant, rather, one has to consider the deviant in relationship to those groups and individuals who define him so. One cannot be considered without the other, they constitute two halves of any deviant action.

Becker (1991) outlined how jazz musicians faced the conflict between their belief in artistic autonomy and commercial survival. Commonly they were placed under pressure to satisfy the demands of their audience to play music that they regarded as being beneath them. Becker illustrated how the musicians created an ideology to protect their autonomy and resolve their difficulties. Part of this ideology includes how jazz musicians divided the world into two opposing groups, - the 'cats' and the 'squares'. The 'cats', as they saw it – who were the musicians themselves and those whom they deemed to be privileged enough to appreciate their music – possessed a precious, mysterious artistic gift which set them apart from the rest of society, who are 'squares' (pp42). This ideology would manifest itself when they were obliged to play something 'corny' and would sometimes play a little more corny than was necessary in order to convey to each other an esoteric joke and their contempt for their audience and their own loyalty to higher things (cited in Goffman, 1990:pp185). Becker noted how this ideology was also represented by musicians actively removing themselves from the 'squares' in their social lives (in part obligated by their unsociable hours and extensive travelling) and also a belief that only fellow musicians were capable of judging their performance or understanding their problems. Such was the importance of their identity that one respondent claimed that his identity as a jazz musician had meant that he was no longer concerned with his other identities which

he had once valued, and that although he was Jewish, that was no longer part of his self image (Becker, 1991:pp99).

A major part of this process of negotiation of communal identity is the withdrawal of musicians from bourgeois society. Becker found that the jazz musicians emphasised their isolation from the standards and interests of conventional society and isolated their socialising exclusively to other musicians:

> They were unremittingly critical of both business and labour, disillusioned with the economic structure and cynical about the political process and contemporary political parties. Religion and marriage were rejected completely, as were American popular and serious culture and their reading was confined solely to the more esoteric *avant garde* writers and philosophers. In art and symphonic music they were interested in only the most esoteric developments. In every case they were quick to point out that their interests were not those of the conventional society and that they were thereby differentiated from it. It is reasonable to assume that the primary function of these interests was to make this differentiation unmistakably clear. (pp98)

Indeed this unconventional behaviour amongst jazz musicians was also noted by Holbrook (2004) who described the stereotypical jazz musician as a 'socially maladroit, beret-wearing, zoot-suited ne'er-do-well who would indeed smoke pot and join the Communist Party except that he is too strung out on heroin, cocaine, or demon rum to care about such comparatively light-hearted pastimes' (pp14). Therefore we can see that for many musicians, maintaining this ideology is a necessary part of their career.

This concept of career is developed further by Atkinson & Housely (2003) who define a 'moral career' as the construction of a sociology of personhood and the moral work that constructs or undermines social actors (pp63). In this sense they stress that 'moral' refers not to everyday connotations of morality but 'to a broader sociological

concern with the achievement of a socially organised identity and the construction of actors as moral agents, responsible for their actions and subject to the evaluations of others' (pp63). Returning to musicians, we can see how by entering a community of musicians, those who do embark on a moral career whereby the members take on and reproduce a socially organised identity within their community of peers. Becker's study of jazz musicians allows us to see this process in action.

A study which brings a number of these issues together is Griff's (1960) treatise on the commercial artist. Griff shows how children who show artistic instinct are often encouraged at school and by their parents to pursue their creativity and to regard their artistic endeavours as being intrinsically useful and that the child and his creations are acceptable to social authority. However if the child wishes to pursue his creativity into adulthood as a career, his parents – concerned at the lack of extrinsic and monetary rewards for artists - will typically pressurise him to pursue a more practical career and the artist is labelled as deviant. Therefore the position of the artist in society is an ambivalent one, supposedly both the artist and his work are valued yet the artist is not rewarded and is often condemned as a consequence. Partly resulting from this process and partly emergent from the artist's historically inherited role (see chapter four for a description of this historical process), is the bohemian ideology that is typically employed by and imposed upon artists. The bohemian ideology holds that the artist is at war with civil society and represents the values of freedom of self-expression and the realisation of self through artistic fulfilment and that these values are antithetical to and transcendent of bourgeois values (Griff, 1960:pp221-2).

Whilst Becker (1991) illustrates how many jazz musicians were able to support a meagre lifestyle by playing in poorly paying jazz clubs, Griff (1960) identifies that this is unsustainable for many artists who have no such outlet for their fine art and instead are forced into accepting work that requires either rejecting or compromising the bohemian ideology. He developed three alternate role styles that artists hence adopt: the *traditional-role artist* who works as a commercial artist but symbolically identifies himself as a fine artist, the *commercial-role artist* who rejects the bohemian ideology as being anachronistic and regard fine art and commercial art as utilitarian and finally the *compromise-role artist* who seeks to negotiate space for their creativity and fine art principles within the commercial context. The differences between the three roles are illustrated in Table 9:

Traditional Role	Commercial Role	Compromise Role
Works commercially and identifies himself as a fine artist	Works in commercial art and sees both commercial art and fine art as utilitarian	Works within commercial process but are active agents seeking creative space
Are symbolically withdrawn from the commercial artist role	Orientated towards satisfying commercial demands	Power relationship with employer is critical and in constant negotiation
Sees himself as being "temporarily engaged" in commerce – compartmentalisation	Sees traditional role as an anachronism	On a crusade to put art into commerce
Believes there is no alternative	Regards commercial demands as being healthy for an artist – provides discipline	No sense of guilt but deep sense of frustration at lack of opportunities to develop art
Angry that the state does not create space for autonomous art		Seeks to develop his own style to differentiate from competitors in the commercial environment
Deep sense of guilt – sees commercial art as a betrayal of his talent		See themselves as artists engaged in a tactic

Table 9 (Griff, 1960) Traditional role, commercial role and compromise role artists

Whilst Griff's table does present a valuable mechanism for analysing the thoughts of musicians, a failing may be that he regards musicians individually rather than collectively. This is opposed to Becker who sought common traits in the approach of jazz musicians. Indeed Goffman (1990) noted that the representation of self is commonly grounded communally through what he regarded as teams (pp83) whilst

Salaman (1974) emphasised how individuals see themselves as part of an occupational community. An approach that does consider artists collectively was provided by Steinert (2003) who considered a historically informed typology of working alliances to express what he considers as the conflict between the 'educated classes' and artists. He develops four types of artistic working alliances that attempt to work out this conflict and his typology is presented and discussed in section 4.7.

Another collective approach was provided by Cottrell's (2002) study of how freelance musicians in London would deputise for each other for particular performance events. This allows musicians a greater freedom to pick and choose what type of concerts they want to perform at as they can ask other musicians to substitute for them. According to Cottrell, such deputizing is a significant arena for interaction between musicians, since it is here that issues of social relations, artistic impulse, commercial transactions and both self-conception and individual identities become intertwined (pp62). In theorising how musicians decide to give preference to certain musical events, he coined the phrase 'musical capital'. Musical capital, which draws from Bourdieu's (1984) cultural capital (see section 1.4.2) is defined as 'the measure of the desirability, from the musician's point of view, of their participation in the event as well as its value to them as they seek to establish a reputation and profile for undertaking particular types of work within their professional world' (pp70). Cottrell (2002) also notes that musical capital connotes differing levels of honour and prestige associated between performance events and hence necessarily distinguishes between legitimate and popular culture (pp78).

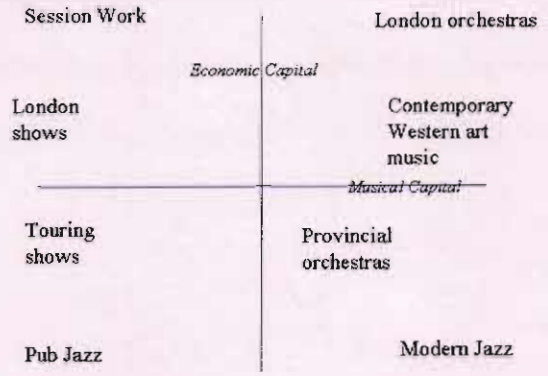

Figure 12 (Cottrell, 2002) Music capital as plotted against economic capital

The notion of musical capital is complicated by the economic conditions that the musicians find themselves in. For example, while musicians may prefer to play in a modern jazz performance at an arts centre, economic necessity may force them to take a job playing in a less prestigious West End pit orchestra instead. Hence a musician's sense of musical capital is juxtaposed with his sense of economic capital. Figure 12 illustrates how Cottrell theorises how the relationship may be posited between these two forms of capital and how the various work opportunities for London's musicians may be mapped against them. The horizontal axis shows the degree of musical capital associated with a particular event, expressed from the performer's perspective as the desirability of taking part, from the least on the left to the most on the right. The vertical axis represents economic capital, the valorisation of certain specific performance events, with the most lucrative engagements at the top and the least on the bottom.

Whilst economic capital can be assessed empirically, Cottrell shows how musical capital is far more subjective with the desirability of certain types of work changing

from one musician to another for many complex reasons: career aspirations, musical tastes, socio-musical connections etc, and it is this, Cottrell argues, which allows us to see how musicians conceive their sense of themselves as authorial individuals (pp72). Noting that economic and musical capital are not necessarily inversely proportional to each other (though as a general rule they tend to be), Cottrell concludes by stating that the strategies the London freelance musicians adopt result, at least in part, from the antagonistic relationship between music as a cultural symbol and music as an economic process; and the manner in which they resolve this conflict creates and sustains both their self-conception and their individual identity in the wider social world.

An important aspect of Cottrell's research that ties back to notions of occupational community is how the musicians use deputising as a means of gaining status within the music community. For example, in offering work which is already well remunerated a musician implies that he or she is able to give this work away because they are doing something that is even better paid and this, in turn, contributes to the image that the receiver has of the giver and, if such interactions take place often, will perhaps elevate the giver into a new social rank among his or her peers (pp73). Cottrell's work illustrates how, in part through deputising, a culture emerges in which musicians accept certain performances as carrying more music capital than others and a shared value system (as represented in Figure 12) is the outcome.

Another study which considered the collective shaping of a musician identity was Street's (2002) investigation of the popular artist as politician. Noting how such popular music figures as Bob Geldof and Bono were politically active, he asked what

was the process that lead to these musicians being listened to respectfully, i.e. why does anybody listen to Bono on international debt re-structuring? (pp434) The answer can be partly explained by the role of the musician as commander of audiences who draw their lead from him (pp434). In this way a musician becomes politicised by their audiences in that they tailor their politics to their fans, for example student fans get student politics. However, Street stresses that it is a two-way process as the opposite is also true as musicians in turn politicise their fans therefore, politicised audiences are the product of the marketing strategy of stars and their corporate sponsors (provided the artist does not alienate his fan-base through politics and gives the example of the poor selling John Lennon album *Sometime in New York City*).

An important distinction that Street (2002) makes is how generic conventions can work to include or exclude politics. For example, he argues that a teen pop group genre which yields such groups as Westlife allows no place for politics or would render any attempt to appear political as unconvincing and implausible. By contrast, folk music or hip-hop, Street argues, almost define themselves in terms of politics, or at least social commentary (pp435). Therefore, the process by which musicians become politicised and how that political message is taken seriously by society is a complex process and entails the conception of artist being moulded through the artist's personal beliefs but how in turn those beliefs are mediated by society and the type of music that he or she performs. Interestingly it might be suggested that the more obvious the influence of the culture industry, as is the case in pop groups such as Westlife, the less the potential for political space (this returns to the discussion to that of 'authenticity', see section 3.4.1.1).

As a conclusion to this section it should be noted that the myth of musician as 'cat' and everybody else as 'square' is one which is socially mediated and reproduced through a rather exclusive music community, though as Street (2002) shows us, the audience can play an important role in shaping the identity of the musician too, at least in terms of their politicisation. A later work by Becker (1991) is used to further analyse this 'cat' versus 'squares' typography.

3.5 Becker's Art World and McGregor's Theory-X versus-Y

Throughout this chapter, this research has consistently attempted to address two myths; the first is the myth of the artist as 'cat' which includes what Hesmondhalgh describes as a "widespread tendency to think of 'art' as the highest form of human experience" and are somehow engaged in 'some mystically special form of creativity' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002:pp4). Hesmondhalgh argues that this fetishisation of the musician has led to a reaction against musicians leading to their perspectives being ignored in recent thinking. Also Frith (1991) has criticised studies that reproduce these mythologies by building into their research questions such assumptions. For example, he writes about studies that are quasi-celebrations of "musical 'creativity and 'inspiration', their celebration of local music in terms of 'self-production' rather than 'reliance upon the centralised recording industry', (and) their romantic notion of what it means to be a musician" (pp285).

The second myth is the fetishisation of the culture industry practitioners as a reified, alienated 'square' who is completely constituted by productive and frankly uninteresting instincts. This myth is best explored by the work of Thomas Frank (1997) whose history of the advertising and fashion industry show the practitioners as

highly creative people who don't just react to or 'co-opt' culture, but also determine it. As he reminds us, we live in a time where the advertising worker (as extension for those engaged in other cultural industries professions) is now the 'coolest guy on the commuter train, turned on to the latest in youth culture, rock music, and drug-influenced graphic effects' (Frank, 1997:pp115). This research argues that these discourses of 'cats' versus 'squares' are broadly corresponding to the background music industry and the music industry. Negus (1999a) helps us to link this conception with the conversation of what is production and what is consumption (see section 3.4.4).

A useful text for understanding these two myths within organisational structures is McGregor's *The Human Side of Enterprise* (1960) which sought to combine management literature with social thought on human behaviour. Frank (1997) argues that McGregor's book was enormously influential, 'spawning dozens of spin-offs and winning disciples across the corporate spectrum. Today, with popular business writers vying constantly to come up with an evermore transgressive strategy for disrupting corporate hierarchy, the bloated corpus of recent management literature seems like one long tribute to McGregor's thoughts' (pp22).

The central tenant of McGregor's (1960) thesis is his division between organisations that can be described according to theory-x and those of theory-y. Theory-x companies work on the assumptions that the average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can (McGregor, 1960:pp33). In turn this ontology requires a certain form of management which is based upon principles of coercion and the promise of security, or in short the 'carrot and stick' approach

(pp41). By contrast theory-y organisations favour a more voluntaristic approach to work whereby people are inwardly motivated towards a goal.

Applying a Marxian viewpoint, this thesis submits that theory-x can be understood as a process whereby people come to be alienated from their work and coerced. It can be understood alongside the division of production (seen as undesirable) and consumption (desirable) with work clearly falling into the production domain (see a discussion on the production and consumption nexus in section 1.5.2). By contrast, this division or rather these constructs collapse under theory-y where people are not so alienated from their labour and the production and consumption constructs start to merge, i.e. the work is sufficiently pleasurable to carry its own internal motivations for the labourer, other than as a means to an end within capitalism. If these constructs can be described as myths which are reproduced through discourse, then the myth of theory-x can be used to conceptualise the popular connotations of culture industry workers and theory-y can be used to conceptualise musicians. Hesmondhalgh's model (see section 3.4.4) can then be understood as the alienated work of theory-x people as not interfering with the creative work of theory-y people and the term 'creative autonomy' refers to the freedom of the heroic y's from the dreaded x's.

As opposed to this approach and emerging from this mid-range conversation is the seminal theoretical contribution of the interactionist writer Howard S. Becker and his text *Art Worlds* (Becker, 1982), described by De Nora as a 'watershed' (De Nora, 2003:pp xi) and by Frith & Horne as 'the most important book' for dealing with the relationship between artists and commerce (Frith and Horne, 1987:pp2) . In it, Becker seeks to bring a sociological and interactionist framework to the understanding of the

complex relationships between people engaged in the 'art world'. His very first words set the tone for his approach: 'maybe the years I spent playing the piano in Chicago and elsewhere led me to believe that the people who did that mundane work were as important to an understanding of art as the better-known players who produced the recognised classics of jazz' (pp ix). Rejecting the fetishisation of art, Becker instead secularises art and the artist; 'that has inevitably meant treating art as not so very different from other kinds of work, and treating people defined as artists as not so very different from other kinds of workers, especially the other workers who participate in the making of art works' (pp ix-x). If we are to consider a sociological approach to the production and consumption of art, then Becker argues that it is not an approach that produces aesthetic judgements, 'although that is a task many sociologists have set for themselves' (pp1).

Moving away from the notion of the individual artist, Becker (1982) instead looks at the community of practice. For example, instead of hearing music and just thinking of the genius that is the musician, Becker urges us to consider the broader range of activities; 'for a symphony orchestra to give a concert, for instance, instruments must have been invented, manufactured, and maintained, a notation must have been devised and music composed using that notation, people must have learned to play the notated notes on the instruments, times and places for rehearsal must have been provided, ads for the concert must have been placed' (pp2). Within these different practices there are different types of labour which shape the production and consumption of music and whilst this may seem natural, it is the product of an organised division of labour.

In some art this division of labour comes to be symptomatic of where the prestige of the creativity is seen to fall. He gives the example of photography where some photographers do not make their own prints or poets who do not incorporate their own handwriting into their work. In both cases an essential part of the production of the art falls to technicians who understand how they want it done. On this point we can read into Becker and see that the process he describes through which different parts of the division of labour gain the benefits of fetishisation can be compared to the abstract and even archaic process, described by Marx (1974) of how exchange value is granted to certain forms of labour and not to others, even though they are both essential to the functioning of the society (see section 1.3). These benefits of the fetishisation of the artist, inherited from history, (see chapter 4), take the form of her being understood to possess rare special talents, gifts or abilities. Artists are then accorded special rights and privileges and are not held to be liable to the same constraints imposed on other members of society; they should be allowed to violate rules of decorum, propriety and common sense (pp14). As this privilege is precious, Becker describes the art world as exercising a degree of quality control on where this fetishisation should fall. There are various mechanisms for achieving this, ranging from the activities of guilds or academies, the role of the critic and ultimately the mechanisms of the market.

Becker describes this fetishisation of the division of labour as in a state of permanent negotiation. For example, he writes about how rock musicians took an interest in incorporating the sound effects of electronic recordings into their work and this forced them to investigate the electronic sound engineering dimensions of musical production. As increasing credit came to be given to sound engineers and producers, sound engineering, once a mere technical speciality, had become integral to the art

process and was recognised as such. Herein, according to Becker lies another archaic ideology of separating art from non-art in the art world, namely that there is a correlation between doing the core activity and being an artist; 'if you do it, you must be an artist. Conversely if you are an artist, what you do must be art' (pp18). Becker also describes this ideology as providing grounds for confusion because as artistic talent implies spontaneous expression, how then are we to understand composers who produce so many bars of music a day – whether they feel like it or not?

It is these sociological mechanisms that Becker suggests we use to answer the age-old question, a favourite of postmodernists; what can be considered as art? Becker argues that what is considered to be art is that which operates within an art world that 'defines the boundaries of acceptable art, recognising those who produce the work it can assimilate as artists entitled to full membership' (pp226). Therefore, the difference between what is conventionally regarded as being art (for example the work *Away From the Flock* by Damien Hirst, which features a sheep preserved in a tank of formaldehyde) and what is not regarded as art (Becker gives the example of country women who make quilts) is not so much accounted for in the object itself, but rather in the ability of an art world to accept it and its maker (pp227).

The art world therefore, provides the constraints and limits for what can be produced within and every artist must operate within the limits of what the established groups of support personnel are prepared to do for them; she can try to make those people do it her way, she can train others to do it her way, or she can do it herself (pp26). Sometimes these limits become so institutionalised that they become accepted as normal. For example, Becker (1982) shows the convention in western music is to play

a chromatic scale of twelve tones. If a composer wants to write beyond this scale then it would necessitate the development of new instruments and musicians to play them. As opposed to this, most work composed according to conventions can be performed by professional musicians after just one rehearsal and presents far less organisational problems. The consequence is that almost all art conforms to these institutional constraints: 'the sculptures already in your museum did not go through the door on the loading dock, and did not fall through the floor. Sculptors know the appropriate weight and dimensions of a museum piece, and work accordingly. Broadway plays are of a length audiences will sit through, and the compositions symphony orchestras perform require no more musicians than the organisation can pay' (pp27-28). For example, the composition of Philip Glass's opera *Akhnaten* features woodwind as the Stuttgart Opera Company who sanctioned it did not have a string section.

In accounting for the negotiations of such constraints and organisational limits, it is tempting to fall back on the mythology of the creative autonomy of theory-y heroes being oppressed by alienated theory-x slaves, or indeed Frith's epic struggle of good versus evil. Becker's work gives us another perspective for considering these clashes suggesting that the artists who fail to negotiate them are, metaphorically speaking, the ones who are seeking to build sculptures that will not fit in the gallery doors and if they did, would be so heavy that it would cause the floor to collapse! Thus most limits placed on artists are not because 'the managers of those organisations are conservative fuddy-duddies, either, but because their organisations are equipped to handle standard formats and their resources will not permit the substantial expenditures required to accommodate non-standard items, or to sustain the losses involved in presenting work audiences will not support' (pp28).

In accounting for how artists negotiate these institutional conventions and limitations, Becker distinguishes between what he terms 'Integrated artists' and 'Mavericks'. The first refers to canonical art which draws upon all the existing mechanisms within the art world, ranging from the availability of the raw material to the ability of the audience to know exactly how to respond to it. The canonical artist, then, is 'fully prepared to produce and fully capable of producing the canonical art work. Such an artist would be fully integrated into the existing art world. He would cause no trouble for anyone who had to cooperate with him, and his work would find large and responsive audiences. Call such artists integrated professionals' (pp228-9). As art is constantly engaged in change, Becker (1982) argues that the integrated professionals operate within a shared tradition of problems and solutions, which is much like the work of a PhD student; they define the problems of their art similarly and agree on the criteria for an acceptable solution. They know the history of previous attempts to solve those problems, or some of it, and the new problems those attempts generated. They know the history of works like theirs, so that they, their support personnel, and their audiences can understand what they have attempted and how and to what degree it works. All this makes the joint action necessary to create art works easier (pp230). As the criterion becomes clear, and better organised, it becomes possible for a knowledgeable person to rank the artists in a given field. According to Becker an ungenerous way of looking at the integrated professionals at the top of their ranks would be as 'hacks, competent but uninspired' and he notes that this is the way such people sometimes appear to their peers (pp232).

For Becker (1982) the opposite of an integrated professional, which all organised art world's produce, are mavericks – 'artists who have been part of the conventional art world of their time, place, and medium but found it unacceptably constraining' (pp233). Mavericks hence produce art outside of the conventions and norms of their art world often with the result that audiences and sources of support and distribution refuse to co-operate in the production of the art. Instead of giving up, the mavericks continue without the normal support. This leaves the mavericks at the margins of the art world, not fully integrated into that world yet retaining loose connections with it. Sometimes this results in a hostile reception from the art world due to their blatant disregard for the established practice, which suggests that the artist 'either doesn't know what is right or doesn't care to do what is right' (pp234). Becker provides the example of the composer Charles Ives who composed unfinished pieces of almost entirely impractical music, for example his *Universe* symphony requires, for one part alone, up to fifteen orchestral groups and choruses, scattered around mountains and valleys (pp240).

At less extreme ends, Becker argues that while mavericks violate conventional practice, they do so selectively and in fact abide by most of them. For example, James Joyce ignored conventional literary and linguistic forms but he still wrote a finished book and a 'perfectly recognisable European book' at that (pp243). Similarly, however unconventional were the compositions of Ives, he still composed for conventional instruments and familiar musical forms leading to the possibility that the art world *might* still perform his work (as eventually happened). This leads to the possibility for the maverick to be re-integrated into the professional art world as their work remains orientated to the canonical and conventional art, though most maverick

art never succeeds in making an impact in the conventional art world and becomes largely forgotten. Therefore Becker describes maverick art as carrying a 'half-in, half-out' relationship with the conventional art world. Another important conclusion Becker makes is that what makes art seem maverick is not inherent in its own objective 'maverickness', but rather in the relation between it and a conventional art world (pp244).

3.6 Conclusions and Summary

The primary concern of this chapter was to consider the people who work in the culture industries and to consider the mythologies that surround the different employees. As such the background music industry, the advertising industry and the music industry were reviewed as the theme of a clash of myths was developed.

The contribution of Becker (1982) to this provides a valuable one indeed. Part of the utility of his approach is through studying art worlds and the people who occupy it as just another form of work. This view avoids the trap of fetishising the artist. An important contribution is that Becker questions how certain participants in the art world are labelled as artists yet others are not and as has been noted, this mirrors the process through which exchange value comes to be attached to different forms of labour production. Should this perspective be accepted, then all participants of the cultural industries, whether they be the musicians or indeed the marketing personnel of the record label ought to be regarded as part of the same process of production, and the work that is produced should be seen as the outcome of co-operative action from a community of people, for example, when we hear a recording of beautiful guitar

playing we should not neglect the contribution of the guitar maker, the sound engineer and other record label personnel.

This raises an interesting question; to what extent do other theorists who have made considerations of artists fall into this trap? For example the life-work of Adorno. For instance, the myth of the composer as theory-y hero is perhaps best encapsulated in the immortal and iconical image of Beethoven as master of music and overall genius. To be sure the particularly devastating claim has been laid at Adorno's door that, as Middleton put it; 'at times Adorno's Beethoven comes close to being a fetish: the image objectifies those musical tendencies Adorno wants to privilege' (Middleton, 2000:pp41). For De Nora, this raises a problem within the Adornian perspective:

> How do we know that in his analysis of Beethoven he (Adorno) is not merely engaging in musical-ideological work, elaborating a trope of Beethoven reception that is prominent within the field of discourse that he operates? How do we know that Adorno's valuation of Beethoven is not the artefact of historical tropes, of the myths of compositional theory? (De Nora, 2003:pp27)

This question cuts to the core of Adorno's work (unlike the usual criticisms of Adorno as being an elitist pessimist which this research argues is based on a mis-reading – see section 1.4.1.2) which is to consider the objective nature of the music itself, as opposed to the sociological approach of Becker (mirroring Bourdieu – see section 1.4.2) which does not concern itself with the essence of the art. Rather than accepting music as purely functioning at the exchange level, Adorno, through his dialectical reasoning, sees its potential for both utility and exchange value. In his evaluation of Adorno's work, Leppert makes the distinction, within Adorno's, work of his sociology as working both 'inside' *and* 'outside' the musical work and he refused to accept the academic separation of history, sociology, philosophy and aesthetics (Leppert, 2002:pp74). Indeed a criticism that Adorno himself levelled at aesthetics

(and presumably would have levelled at Bourdieu and Becker too) was that it 'scarcely ever confronted itself with its own object' (cited by Leppert, 2002:pp75). Surely the answer to De Nora's question, then, is through both 'inside' analysis of the musical text of Beethoven linked with the conviction of the researcher to state that there is an objective reality to the music of Beethoven, i.e. outside of the discourses of myth and fetishisation, there still remains the music and the creator of that music could only have been both a master of music and a genius, albeit socially constructed but objectively true nonetheless. This returns the discussion to Negus' (1999b) criticisms of the temptation to reveal the fetish and myth in the consumption of music and then conclude that the audience has been duped. Instead he argues that we should see how that myth shapes social relationships and how people live their lives according to those myths and fetishes but at the same not lose sight that behind the myth is a real musician producing real music.

So while the research of Becker (1982) can be criticised for not confronting itself with its object, it does nonetheless provide mechanisms for providing a deeper understanding of how the cultural industries function as art worlds and the relationship between the 'artists' and non-artists'. For this reason both perspectives are accepted. Just as Adorno rejected the division between disciplines, this research rejects falling into the object-subject divide and instead takes an and/and approach. This view is entirely consistent with what chapter one extrapolated from Adorno's work; a dialectic of the utility form of the musical object.

What is of interest, however, is how the division of labour within the cultural industries provides a fetishisation of the roles of certain members, namely the

musicians which places them outside the normal conventions of the theory-x brigade. This coincides with the Adornian notion of a dialectic existing between culture (or indeed McGregor's theory-y heroes) and administration (theory-x). As this chapter has shown there is an increasing level of institutional co-existence with increasing opportunity for more conventionally held 'authentic' musicians to benefit from licensing their music to advertising and background music contexts, it is interesting to see if and how these myths of the division between theory-x and theory-y continue to propagate themselves in this point of time within modernity. The point of reference for this dissertation is to look at the under-researched theory-y heroes and consider how they play with these myths.

Whilst this chapter has considered how certain occupations within the culture industries have become fetishised as carrying the prestige of artistic creativity, it is important to consider the historical process through which this process emerged. The following chapter addresses this concern by historicising the relationship between musicians and commerce.

Chapter 4 Musicians and Commerce in History

4.1 Introduction

This research has already noted that there is a dialectical relationship between music and commerce. Chapter one has sought to answer the question as to why this antithetical and hostile situation exists. The later chapters investigated how this dialectic manifests itself in the organisation of the culture industries. This leaves an important question outstanding which this chapter seeks to address; what was the process through which this relationship came to be? In order to answer this question we need to examine the relationship between music and commerce historically.

In attempting such a venture it is worthwhile to consider the contribution of Norbert Elias and his method of social process. As distinct from typical historical accounts which neglect the historical interweaving of conflict and stability, Elias argued that the long-term processes of social integration and disintegration should *themselves* be the object of sociological study, rather than assuming a condition of either integration or conflict (Van Krieken, 1998:pp48). Whilst the writings of Elias have influenced this chapter, an Eliasian approach would necessitate a systematic review of historical documentation that would perhaps constitute a separate PhD in itself. Indeed as Raynor noted in his *Social History of Music* (Raynor, 1978), it is difficult to limit the history of European music to music alone, as the history draws upon other important and influential movements such as military, economic, industrial, science, literature and art history. He wrote; 'history, however much we departmentalise it, tends always to become a single study, its boundaries extremely vague because of its vast

comprehensiveness. It is after all the record of human activities in general, and human activities are necessarily interdependent; because they overlap, the unavoidable compartmentalisations inevitably collapse' (Raynor, 1978:pp1). Rather than attempt such a huge historical review of the 'vast comprehensiveness' of Western music or an Eliasian systematic study of social process, this research instead follows the historical approach undertaken by McCracken (1990) in his historicisation of the development of the consumer revolution in his text *The Making of Modern Consumption.*

This approach, as adapted from McCracken (1990), treats separately decisive periods in the history of the relationship between music and commerce. The four periods considered; medieval Europe, the Renaissance, the Romantic Period and Modernity, were selected because they consisted of a change in the dialectic resulting in the relationship taking a changed character. Reviewed here as a group, the episodes give a picture of the relationship between music and commerce at four periods in its development. However, this form of approach has also been questioned by Elias (1993) who illustrates the weakness of this approach in understanding the life of Mozart:

> Mozart emerges vividly as a human being only if his wishes are seen in the context of his time. His life is a case study of a situation the peculiarity of which often escapes us, since we are used to operating with static concepts. Was Mozart, we tend to ask, a musical representative of rococo or of the bourgeois nineteenth century? Was his work the last manifestation of a pre-Romantic 'objective' music, or does it already show signs of the rising 'subjectivism'? The trouble is that such categories do not take us much further. They are academic abstractions that do not do justice to the process-character of the observable data to which they refer. Underlying them is the idea that the tidy division into epochs we usually find in history books best fits the actual course of social development. (pp10)

Despite these weaknesses, the epoch approach is taken as it adequately serves the

objective here of demonstrating for the reader that the dialectic between art and commerce has emerged through history and continues to evolve to this day.

4.2 *From Jongleur to Court Composer – Early Music in Medieval Europe*

As Clarke notes (1995) the medieval period was marked by two distinctive forms of music; secular music and religious music and they are here treated separately.

4.2.1 Secular Music

Secular music tended towards dance music which was played at court and in the houses of the aristocracy. The best tunes, according to Clarke, were also popular in the street and there was a common flow of music across class barriers with no distinction between what is now regarded as 'popular' and 'serious' music (pp1). Attali (1985) charts how it took centuries for secular music to enter commodity exchange and the early European minstrel, the *jongleur*, were originally social outcasts condemned by the church. This forced the minstrel into an itinerant life-style; he was 'a highly unrespectable figure, akin to the vagabond or the highwayman' (pp14) who roamed from town to town rendering his service in private settings. According to Attali, at this time the jongleur *was* music in that he 'alone created it, carried it with him and completely organised its circulation within society' (pp14). These jongleurs or minstrels were not limited to musical performance but also to numerous other forms of entertainment as well, for example, medieval German regulations drawn up for guidance to jongleurs or minstrels have survived and one states the role of the minstrel as follows:

> The minstrel has to 'know how to invent, to make rhymes, to acquit himself as a swordsman to know how to play the drums, cymbals and the *Buaernleier*

> (hurdy-gurdy) well; to know how to throw up little apples and to catch them on the point of a knife; to imitate the songs of birds, perform tricks with cards and jump through hoops; to play the cittern and the mandolin, to handle the clavichord and the guitar, to string the seven-stringed rotte, to accompany well with the fiddle, and to speak and sing pleasantly'. (cited by Raynor, 1978:pp45)

A second role of the minstrel, according to Raynor, was to provide whatever entertainment was required by their patron. The role of the minstrel came to be celebrated too by the aristocracy and the eleventh and twelfth century saw the rise of the more upper-class Troubadours of southern France, the Trouvéres of northern France and the Minnesanger from Germany (Raynor, 1978). This period can be regarded as a time where the prestige of the musician started to improve.

Over time the jongleurs settled to become court minstrels attached to specific courts and resident in towns where they started to develop their trade and sustain their employment through joining guilds, building alliances with other musicians and adding to their performance repertoire. From that day on, Attali (1985) wrote, musicians were 'economically bound to a machine of power, political or commercial which paid him a salary for creating what it needed to affirm its legitimacy' (pp15). According to Steinert (2003) this period marked the advent of domestic music-making, the secular concert and the festival and typified the landscape of musical production up to the eighteenth century.

4.2.2 Religious Music

It was within religious music, however, where the most significant developments in western music took place. According to Raynor (1978) this was because church music was performed as an act of worship with a greater emphasis towards accuracy,

mistakes would be seen as invalidating the ritual. Therefore religious music had to be memorised in its correct form. It was through this concern, coupled with both the intellectual resources and facilities for scholarship made available by the church that led to the development of written music (Raynor, 1978), usually associated with the Italian monk, Guido Arezzo, in the tenth century (Goodall, 2001). Guido Arezzo's method of notation allowed music to be transcribed allowing for greater compositional complexity such as the development of counter-point. These advances were a defining point in the development of western music and the time where a new and highly influential form of musician started to emerge, the composer (Goodall, 2001).

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, Raynor (1978) describes religious music as achieving a varied life which led to a perennial struggle about the nature of church music; was it to be simply a vehicle for the text or rather a vehicle for legitimately conveying the 'personal devotion, joy or lamentation of the individual; what place has subjective religious feeling within what is essentially the act of worship of the church itself?' (pp25). This battle over music was played out in cathedrals, churches and monasteries all over Europe with Raynor identifying the music played at Notre Dame in Paris and at Santiago de Compostela in Galicía where polyphony was developed as being particularly radical. This development gave the composer the freedom to be 'extra-liturgical' and to develop more complex music and forms of composition. At this time, Raynor shows how music was seen to be an important branch of practical mathematics and indeed the spread of musical training moved to universities such as Oxford and Cambridge in England. As the university typically had a greater degree of

distance from diocesan authority, the collegiate system further influenced the extra-liturgical role of music within religious ceremony.

Throughout this time there was an interflow between secular and religious music with the latter constantly borrowing from the former (Clarke, 1995; Raynor, 1978). However as Raynor points out, given the disorganisation of secular music, it was rarely recorded and there is little evidence of what music was performed during this period. Whilst interplay did exist, the itinerant minstrel was still an outcast to the church, described by the theologian Honorius of Autun as 'ministers of Satan' (pp47). Nonetheless, we can see that this period of medieval European history witnessed both the rising profile of the musician as they came to be accepted within the court and this process was theorised by Raynor as constituting the 'domestication of the minstrels' (pp44). Second, within sacred music the increasing complexity of composition and performance required the musician to be a person of education. A final factor within the late medieval period was the development of municipal life and, as Raynor (1978) describes, this resulted in increasing opportunities for musicians:

> The development of the towns in the later middle ages were not only a spur to revolutionary music-making inside the church. It created a way of life which required music to express its dignity and enhance its ceremonies. Just as the nobility felt that their position and prestige of strings and woodwind, the middle classes demanded that music added its symbolic and active glories to their own proceedings. While the continental cities made it their business to glorify the churches and enlarge the church choirs as well as to employ the best available singer-composers for the service of religion, they wanted music socially, to enhance the dignity and civilisation of their lives. (pp55)

By the period of late medieval society, music had become an important badge of prestige for both church and court and the musician became an increasingly respected and educated person within society. However, it should be noted that the commercial landscape was yet to experience the rise of consumer culture and this phenomenon,

according to McCracken (1990) emerged during the Renaissance period, as the following section considers.

4.3 Music and Art during the Renaissance

The Renaissance can be regarded as a critical moment in the relationship between art and commerce as it marked the rise of material culture – marked by political stability, urbanisation, international trade, high levels of disposable wealth and a broad base of affluent consumers and also because art was given the space to play a vital role in shaping, refining and transmitting culture (Schroeder and Borgerson, 2002:pp158). An example of how the artist functioned within court society is provided by Schroeder & Borgerson's (2002) treatment of the relationship of artists to patrons in Italian Renaissance Art. The Renaissance revolutionised painting, departing from contemplative abstract forms, decorated static surfaces and infinite gold space of Byzantine art. These new values helped to place the human form at the centre of paintings and sculpture, give way to individual artistic expression and the function of art was expanded from being wholly in the service of God to include secular purposes (pp156). Schroeder and Borgerson describe a process through which art and commerce comfortably co-existed without fears of compromise. Successful artists enjoyed a concomitant rise in social class becoming part of the aristocratic society. The authors identify Masaccio's *Trinity with the Virgin and Saint John* (1425) as signalling a profound reorganisation of the role of the art patron in that the painting presents the patron as present at the crucifixion, sharing in the grief and pain of Jesus Christ on the cross.

The secularisation of art in accordance with increased patronage sponsorship in Renaissance society was mirrored in music. For example, the Medici family, as well as sponsoring painters, also sponsored musical concerts, compositions as well as the development of new musical technologies (Goodall, 2001). An example of an art that was both secularised and patronised was Gonzaga's sponsorship of Monteverdi's opera, *Orfeo,* widely regarded as the first successful opera in the early 1600s. For Attali (1985) the development of music at this time should be considered as a political economy and as McLary (1985) reminds us, opera was developed not in the context of the hereditary feudal aristocracy but in the courts of northern Italy that were sustained by commerce and later in public opera houses. A common theme within these operas was the subversion of the inherited social hierarchy. For example, McLary shows how Monteverdi's Poppea, Alidoro in Cesti's *Orontea* and Scarlatti's Griselda succeeded in penetrating the aristocracy by force of their erotic charms, talent or virtue. 'What one is made to believe in this music', McLary concludes 'is the rightful emergence of the vital, superior middle-class individual in defiance of the established, hereditary class system' (pp155). Indeed as Attali demonstrates this period of growing self-confidence from artists also brought a degree of frustration as ambitious musicians found themselves repressed as a domestic servant depending on the goodwill of the prince. He gives the example of the consistory of Arnstadt in 1706 reproaching the organist of its new church, Johann Sebastian Bach, for his private behaviour (Attali, 1985:pp18):

> *Actum:* **The Organist of the New Church, Bach, is interrogated as** to where he has lately **been for so long and from whom he obtained leave to go**.
>
> *Ille:* He has been to Lubeck in order to comprehend **one** thing and another about his art, but had asked leave beforehand from the Superintendent.
>
> *Dominus Superintendens:* He had asked only for four weeks, but had stayed about four times as long...

> *Nos:* Reprove him for having hitherto made many curious variations in the chorale, and mingled many strange tones in it, and for the fact that the Congregation had been confused by it. In the future, if he wished to introduce a *tonus peregrinus,* he was told to hold it and not to turn too quickly to something else, or, as had hitherto been his habit, even play a *tonus contraries.*

It is significant that the important developments in music at this time were mirrored by the rise of consumer culture and materialism across Europe. The concept of providing lavish entertainment as a means of display of wealth and therefore a form of governance was encouraged by Machiavelli, the influential Florence political advisor who writing in 1512 advised (Machiavelli, 1992:pp78):

> A prince should show himself a patron of merit, and should honour those who excel in every art... He ought, moreover, at suitable seasons of the year to entertain the people with festivals and shows.

As noted by McCracken (1990) this phenomenon started to spread across Europe. In England, Queen Elizabeth I was influenced by the court protocol of Italy and started indulging in levels of consumption 'unthought of by previous Tudors' (pp11). However this was far more than a flight of fancy, McCracken argues that, just as Machiavelli intended, encouraging conspicuous consumption was a means of control for the monarch over the nobility. By encouraging court society, wealthy landowners were taken away from their power base and started to spend money in increasingly competitive and unsustainable patterns – thereby weakening their power base and strengthening the monarch's in the process. Principal amongst the forms of consumption were hospitality where 'Elizabethan nobleman entertained one another, their subordinates, and, occasionally, their monarch at ruinous expense' (pp11). As music was by now an essential ingredient of hospitality, competition amongst nobility to secure the services of the most highly respected musicians would have improved

both the living conditions of the musicians and encouraged them to develop new styles of music to impress the nobility.

Schroeder & Borgerson (2002) suggest that the relationship between artist and patron at this time was a comfortable one not challenged by an artistic sense of anti-materialism. Whilst musicians may not have developed a distaste of materialism, as Attali shows the relationship between musician and master often constituted a 'petty and impossible control to which the musician would be unceasingly subjected' (Attali, 1985:pp18). The Renaissance can be considered as a period of consolidation where the monarchs began to assert their power over the newly established municipal life. An important tool in this strategy was the growth of material culture and displays of art and therefore the Renaissance is often considered as an extraordinary epoch of artistic production – marked by the concurrent emergence of polyphonic and chromatic music - and the emergence of the artist as a member of society who required high education and skill. The process of the domestication of the minstrel which commenced in medieval Europe was now complete.

4.4 Mozart

As demonstrated by the late renaissance period there was a growth of the bourgeoisie and this was reflected by the content of operatic production. As musicians were increasingly of the bourgeoisie themselves, their relationship with the court was beginning to appear too restrictive and it seemed inevitable that they would seek to remove themselves from these constraints. According to Steinert (2003) the story of the historical development of art away from the court towards the market is best

started from the story of Mozart – whom he describes as a composer who lived and worked around the time that bourgeois society was beginning to emerge (pp66).

Elias (1993) argues that a consideration of Mozart is only possible if we avoid understanding him using traditional concepts of epochs, but rather to view his life as part of the dynamics of conflict between the canons of older declining classes and new rising ones. Mozart's father, Leopold Mozart, as deputy conductor for the Archbishop of Salzburg can be regarded, according to Elias, as occupying the relationship of a servant, albeit a mid-ranking servant (pp18). Elias charts the life of a young Wolfgang who, he argues, due to his awareness of his superior ability to his colleagues, had difficulties conforming to the master-servant relationship. Elias wrote, 'Mozart experienced the fundamental ambivalence of the bourgeois artist in court society, which can be summed up in the following dichotomy: identification with the court nobility and its taste; resentment of his humiliation by it' (pp19).

What followed from Mozart was an attempt to remove himself from the patronage system and feudal dependency. According to Steinert (2003) he sought to achieve this goal by two means; first by moving in international circles, and secondly by using the wider public as an alternative to the narrowness of his feudal sponsors and patrons. In this way the music that he wrote did not depend on the approval of only one master. An example of appealing to the wider public was provided by his production of the banned play *The Marriage of Figaro*. This can be understood as a highly controversial act, – a play described by Napoleon as 'the revolution already in action' (Goodall, 2001:pp70) - it featured the abuse of servants by their masters and concluded with the master, on his knees, begging the forgiveness of his staff. Given the political upheaval at the time, the political message cannot have been lost on the audience, which

included Emperor Joseph (Goodall, 2001). The process of targeting the mass market with opera required a form of composition marked by market stylisation. According to Adorno (2002h), the *Marriage of Figaro*, despite the music's 'truly incomparable quality', is severely compromised in being stylised as a marketable specialty:

> Every staging of *Figaro* with powdered ladies and gentlemen, with the page and the white rococo salon, resembles the praline box[5], not to mention the *Rosenkavier* and the silver rose. If instead one sweeps away all the costuming and has the participants, copying the practices of contemporary dance, dressed in sweat suits or even timeless outfits, one cannot avoid asking, what's the point? Why even bother doing it on stage? One wants to spare Mozart from this. (pp284)

For Raynor (1978:pp8) this market stylisation was the result of intense work from Mozart:

> To judge by his letters, the basis of Mozart's aesthetic was 'effectiveness', a complex idea in which were subsumed the quality of musical ideas, the skill with which they were treated to exploit both their intrinsic qualities and the special abilities of the performers, and the impact of all these upon the audience. The creator's personal satisfaction and highest reward was to achieve this complex, and a work's failure to hold an audience's attention was one of the many things about which he wrote scathingly. A composer, in Mozart's view, wrote for an audience which it was his business to 'please'; the notion of a retreat into an ivory tower never seems to have entered his head even at his most desperate when he might have considered himself rejected by those to whom he had offered delight.

Elias (1993) wrote that this transformation from reliance on court to mass market entailed a certain degree of upward mobility as Mozart sought to raise his profile from craftsmen's art to artist's art and this was to be realised by ceasing 'art production for particular patrons, usually social superiors, to production for the anonymous market, for a public which is by and large the artist's equal' (pp43). It was a transition, Elias argued, that caused a change in the power balance as under patronage, the patron's personal taste in music had preponderance over the personal fantasy of every artist in

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Apart from the latent political content of certain Mozart compositions, Johnson (1996) illustrates how Mozart was a harbinger as the entire conception of music underwent radical change during this period. Noting the audience behaviour at Parisian operas, Johnson noted the change in the audience's expectation that musical expression existed as simply as imitation and literal evocation. For example one intellect at that time, Charles Batteux, discussed the relationship between natural sounds and their musical imitation claiming that 'the musician is no more free than the painter. If he paints a storm, a brook, or a gentle breeze, the tones are all in nature. He can only take from her... If we cannot understand the sense of the expressions music contains, it has no wealth for us' (cited in Johnson, 1996:pp37). As Johnson noted other intellects of the time such as Diderot and Rosseau had little patience for music without clear images; 'for Rosseau it failed to carry the slightest emotion to the heart, and Diderot called it a sensory pleasure at best' (pp39). This expectation was further deepened by

the fact that most operatic composition was tied to lyrics, resulting in music being regarded as a slave of poetry.

Partly as a result of this conception, music was typically treated with far less reverence by Parisian audiences and the opera was a location of considerable discourse. 'In the Old Regime', Johnson writes, 'attending the opera was more social event than aesthetic encounter. In fact, eighteenth century audiences considered music little more than an agreeable ornament to a magnificent spectacle, in which they themselves played the principal part' (1996:pp10). Hence the traditional audience tended to talk continuously, visit one another in private boxes throughout the performance (often loudly banging doors behind them) whilst keeping an eye on one another through their lorgnette. Meanwhile the lower classes stood in the main stalls, observed the aristocracy above them, chatted, regularly hummed along with the music and, on occasions when the area was overcrowded, rioted. Whilst an apathetic audience was the reality that most musicians had to accept, Mozart was one of the first visitors to Paris to be offended by it. In a letter to his father describing a private recital, the young Mozart wrote:

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We can see that Mozart was truly a radical person for his time as he played a central role in reconfiguring the role of the musician within society, redirecting musicianship towards the mass market but also reconfiguring what music was understood to be. However, an important point to make with Mozart is that his economic success in redirecting the position of the audience in society was severely limited, rather than benefiting from the economic freedoms of the market, he died deeply in debt and depressed. As Elias put it; 'the rapid advance of his fatal illness may well have had to do with the fact that his life had lost its value for him. He clearly died with the sense that his social existence was a failure; metaphorically speaking, he died of the meaningless of his life, his complete loss of the belief that his deepest wish would be fulfilled' (Elias, 1993:pp3). For Attali, Mozart was a 'victim of ruthless economic censorship his entire life, one of the first prisoners of abstract, anonymous money,

blackcoat money' (Attali, 1985:pp70). Elias tells us that he lost the two sources of his will to live, 'the love of a woman he could trust for him, and the love of the Viennese public for his music. For a time he enjoyed both; and both held the highest place in the hierarchy of his wishes. There is much reason to believe that in the last years of his life he increasingly felt that he had lost both. That was his tragedy and ours, as human beings' (Elias, 1993:pp3).

4.5 Romanticism

The change in audience behaviour that Johnson (1995) was describing falls under what he labels as the 'musical experience of romanticism' (pp270). Despite the progressive music of Mozart, it was in the nineteenth century that audiences learned to move beyond their preconceptions of music. Noting the change in tone in how critics came to regard music, Johnson put it as follows; 'the language of these new kinds of descriptions implied a clean break with past conceptions, an outright rejection of the idea that music necessarily had to project tangible passions. If exposure to composers considered less gifted than Haydn in painting images slowly subverted the scheme of deciphering music's message, then a single composer, one whom all of musical Paris had heard with numbing frequency, gave it the coup-de-grace: Gioacchino Rossini' (Johnson, 1996:pp218-219).

Johnson (1995) describes the Parisian audiences as being highly impressed by the brilliance and virtuosity of Rossini's work:

> Rossini's acrobatic demands – the turns and thrills, the chromatic runs, the rapid-fire diction and intricately coordinated ensembles – are explosive. The vocal brilliance in Rossini does not so much embody the emotions of the drama as exist alongside them, at some moments coinciding in happy harmony, at others merely approximating and at others destroying them completely. In the virtuosic passages Rossini's music goes far beyond merely

> enhancing the dramatic force of the text. It overwhelms it, and sometimes buries it in a blaze of fioritura' (pp219).

This so-called 'Revolution of Rossini' that occurred in the minds of audiences finally allowed them to hear music as arousing great emotion without conveying it, 'it created an effect without wrapping it in an image' (pp220).

For Johnson (1995), this listening revolution was completed by the re-arrival of Beethoven in Paris. By now, for the first time, the audiences had learnt to listen to a mood of absolute absorption and Johnson gives the example of the palpable silence prevailing during a concert of piano trios performed by Franz Liszt, Chretien Urhan and Alexandre Batta; the silence seems all the more incredible since half of Paris was sick with the flu: 'They coughed plenty between movements but their love of art was strong enough to repress all coughing... during the performance' (pp262).

In understanding why the romantic period afforded music and indeed the musician such a privileged position, it is important to note the central role that aesthetics played in romantic philosophy of that era. For example Kant (2001), stressed the role of art in allowing people a glimpse of the sublime and thus allow the mind to develop an autonomy. Another early romantic writer, Jean Paul, described the need to develop a new language based on visuals and music in order to move away from defining the world by "tote Buchstabenschrift" – the language of dead letters – which illustrates the importance of music to the romantic movement (Donovan, 2004). Schopenhauer (2001) also stressed the importance of music by arguing that music did not merely represent but would rather constitute an immediate objectification and essence of the *will*, which he took to be what the world is besides being a representation. Rosseau,

regarded as a key figure in the romantic movement (Heath and Boreham, 2002), not only wrote about the power of music as a means of self expression but was also a composer of music himself (Johnson, 1996). In this context we can understand the transition of audiences and the form of music. As Reinhardt (2004) described the experience of romanticism; audiences now approached art expecting a profound aesthetic experience exemplified by the destabilised individual seeking the divine spirit in nature and art, disenchantment with materialism, an endless longing and search for revelation. Art was now to be experienced emotionally and this could be achieved by deep contemplation.

Within the romanticist period of general political and social upheaval in Europe, music was often tied into forces of change. Following in the tradition of Mozart and Renaissance composers who fused their operas with political messages, Goodall (2001) illustrates how opera, an art form which came to be associated with the masses, often acted as a rallying cry to the emerging sense of romantic nationalism. An example of this is provided by the jingoistic operas of Verdi and their thinly veiled Italian nationalism. Perhaps the strongest example of all was provided by the incitement of a Belgian audience during a performance of the opera *La Muette de Portici* by Auber, so much so that they started a riot and sparked the Belgian Revolution. Other composers who celebrated social upheaval included Beethoven (whose *Fidelio* was a celebration of liberation), Smetana, Janacek (a citizen of Bohemia), Rossini and Wagner (Goodall, 2001). This demonstrates how the artist, having removed themselves from the patronage system were keen to challenge the power hegemony.

As McCracken (1990) notes the romantic period also witnessed a consumer explosion of its own: 'The world of goods expanded dramatically to include new opportunities for the purchase of furniture, pottery, silver, mirrors, cutlery, gardens, pets and fabric. There were also new developments in the frequency with which goods were bought, the influences brought to bear on the consumer, the numbers of people engaged as active consumers, and the tastes, preferences, social projects, and the cultural co-ordinates according to which consumption takes place' (pp16). Unlike previous epochs, consumption was now no longer the sole privilege of nobility but had begun to trickle down to subordinate classes who saw potential for class mobility through consumption. Their participation, according to McCracken (1990), makes this the first period of 'mass consumption' (pp21). Such was the violence of this storm of consumption and materialism that McCracken notes that some contemporary observers believed that they were in an age of 'epidemical madness' (pp17).

However, romanticism is not associated with the rising tide of consumption but rather with a sense of disenchantment from the materialism of the age. This came to have a significant effect on musicians who, having established themselves as members of the bourgeoisie who offered their music to the market, came to radically re-negotiate their identity within society. This chapter now focuses on two elements of that radical re-negotiation; the artist as bohemian and the artist as genius.

4.5.1 The Artist as Bohemian

'I'm an alcoholic. I'm a drug addict. I'm a homosexual. I'm a genius.'

Truman Capote

The premature death of the impoverished Mozart as described in section 4.4 marks his alienation from respectable culture. According to Griff (1960) part of the process

described by Steinert (2003) and Elias (1993) in the life of Mozart became not just a process whereby the artist as producer for the market became part of the destruction of the nobility, but were, as non-utilitarian artists, also part of the emergence of a new class who were equally hostile to the essentially utilitarian bourgeoisie; the artist had become alienated from society. As such the tragic death of Mozart stands alongside other artists in the stereotype of the struggling and isolated artist, which Griff argues continues to this day:

> The artist as starving and dying; the artist as a deviant and a suicide; the artist as insane and alcoholic; the artist as undiscovered genius whose greatness is not recognised until after his death. One is reminded of Van Gogh, Modigliani and Utrillo – the insane, the alcoholic and the drug addict, respectively. (pp221)

As Elias identifies, the concept of a genius emerged through the period of the life of Mozart and others. The genius, artist as vulnerable, isolated and misunderstood by the bourgeoisie who wrongly branded him as a failure was explored in the highly iconic novel, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* written by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in 1774 (Heath and Boreham, 2002). It told the story of an artist who, facing the impossibility of his love for Charlotte and his sense of isolation from the philistine society with which he is expected to conform, commits suicide. Goethe's novel became hugely successful across Europe with the fashion amongst young men to wear blue coats and yellow breeches in honour of their hero's costume and 'Wertherism' was noted as a cultural trend in England (Heath and Boreham, 2002:pp38-39).

The English were later delivered a real life prototypical Werhterist romantic hero through Thomas Chatterton. Chatterton was a minor English poet who committed suicide in 1770 at the age of eighteen, worn down by poverty and the rejection of his work by patrons (De Botton, 2004:pp289). His life was dramatised by the playwright

Alfred de Vigny and his play *Chatterton* which premiered in Paris in 1835 (De Botton, 2004). The play became a huge influence on a generation of newly emerging 'bohemians' across Europe and his iconic value was established with Henry Wallis's portrait of the dead artist. Wordsworth described Chatterton as 'the purest writer' (Heath and Boreham, 2002:pp58) illustrating the emerging demand for the artist as a tragic figure who was uncompromising in their rejection of bourgeois values and materialism. As Frith & Horne (1987) write, Romanticism can act as a *demand* for artists, instructing to them to live *as* an Artist.

Therefore an important emergence from this period is that of the bohemian ideology, which Griff argues, was to become closely associated with the artist. He describes it as follows:

> It is an ideology which not only expresses antinomianism – moral, aesthetic and social – which is central to its ethos, but also implies an active conflict, a war with civil society. The function of this ideology was to give the artist an identity and a sanction justifying his alienation. This was done by affirming certain values – freedom of expression, and the realisation of self through artistic fulfilment – as transcending and antithetical to the values supported by bourgeois society. As a consequence, although the artist was in this way able to achieve identity and a sense of community with other artists, he was also committed to alienation and a sense of community with other artists. (pp221-2).

Hence the artist as bohemian is identified as occupying a differentiating role in society identified by abstaining from bourgeois values with all the alienation that this entails. It also describes a view of art that is committed to a higher ideal and hence places an onus on the artist to remain true to lofty ideals, even at the expense of poverty, depression, depravation and ultimately suicide. Johnson described it as follows:

> Answerable only to Art, holy and inviolate, the artist was at last free to feel pure inspiration unsullied by patron's demands. It was time to make the wealthy come up to their level. But romantic freedom was never more than a step away from paralysis, tied as it was to the supreme commandment of

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For Johnson (1995), this listening revolution was completed by the re-arrival of Beethoven in Paris. By now, for the first time, the audiences had learnt to listen to a mood of absolute absorption and Johnson gives the example of the palpable silence

prevailing during a concert of piano trios performed by Franz Liszt, Chretien Urhan and Alexandre Batta; the silence seems all the more incredible since half of Paris was sick with the flu: 'They coughed plenty between movements but their love of art was strong enough to repress all coughing... during the performance' (pp262).

In understanding why the romantic period afforded music and indeed the musician such a privileged position, it is important to note the central role that aesthetics played in romantic philosophy of that era. For example Kant (2001), stressed the role of art in allowing people a glimpse of the sublime and thus allow the mind to develop an autonomy. Another early romantic writer, Jean Paul, described the need to develop a new language based on visuals and music in order to move away from defining the world by "tote Buchstabenschrift" – the language of dead letters – which illustrates the importance of music to the romantic movement (Donovan, 2004). Schopenhauer (2001) also stressed the importance of music by arguing that music did not merely represent but would rather constitute an immediate objectification and essence of the *will*, which he took to be what the world is besides being a representation. Rosseau, regarded as a key figure in the romantic movement (Heath and Boreham, 2002), not only wrote about the power of music as a means of self expression but was also a composer of music himself (Johnson, 1996). In this context we can understand the transition of audiences and the form of music. As Reinhardt (2004) described the experience of romanticism; audiences now approached art expecting a profound aesthetic experience exemplified by the destabilised individual seeking the divine spirit in nature and art, disenchantment with materialism, an

endless longing and search for revelation. Art was now to be experienced emotionally and this could be achieved by deep contemplation.

Within the romanticist period of general political and social upheaval in Europe, music was often tied into forces of change. Following in the tradition of Mozart and Renaissance composers who fused their operas with political messages, Goodall (2001) illustrates how opera, an art form which came to be associated with the masses, often acted as a rallying cry to the emerging sense of romantic nationalism. An example of this is provided by the jingoistic operas of Verdi and their thinly veiled Italian nationalism. Perhaps the strongest example of all was provided by the incitement of a Belgian audience during a performance of the opera *La Muette de Portici* by Auber, so much so that they started a riot and sparked the Belgian Revolution. Other composers who celebrated social upheaval included Beethoven (whose *Fidelio* was a celebration of liberation), Smetana, Janacek (a citizen of Bohemia), Rossini and Wagner (Goodall, 2001). This demonstrates how the artist, having removed themselves from the patronage system were keen to challenge the power hegemony.

As McCracken (1990) notes the romantic period also witnessed a consumer explosion of its own: 'The world of goods expanded dramatically to include new opportunities for the purchase of furniture, pottery, silver, mirrors, cutlery, gardens, pets and fabric. There were also new developments in the frequency with which goods were bought, the influences brought to bear on the consumer, the numbers of people engaged as active consumers, and the tastes, preferences, social projects, and the cultural co-ordinates

according to which consumption takes place' (pp16). Unlike previous epochs, consumption was now no longer the sole privilege of nobility but had begun to trickle down to subordinate classes who saw potential for class mobility through consumption. Their participation, according to McCracken (1990), makes this the first period of 'mass consumption' (pp21). Such was the violence of this storm of consumption and materialism that McCracken notes that some contemporary observers believed that they were in an age of 'epidemical madness' (pp17).

However, romanticism is not associated with the rising tide of consumption but rather with a sense of disenchantment from the materialism of the age. This came to have a significant effect on musicians who, having established themselves as members of the bourgeoisie who offered their music to the market, came to radically re-negotiate their identity within society. This chapter now focuses on two elements of that radical re-negotiation; the artist as bohemian and the artist as genius.

4.5.1 The Artist as Bohemian

'I'm an alcoholic. I'm a drug addict. I'm a homosexual. I'm a genius.'

Truman Capote

The premature death of the impoverished Mozart as described in section 4.4 marks his alienation from respectable culture. According to Griff (1960) part of the process described by Steinert (2003) and Elias (1993) in the life of Mozart became not just a process whereby the artist as producer for the market became part of the destruction of the nobility, but were, as non-utilitarian artists, also part of the emergence of a new class who were equally hostile to the essentially utilitarian bourgeoisie; the artist had become

alienated from society. As such the tragic death of Mozart stands alongside other artists in the stereotype of the struggling and isolated artist, which Griff argues continues to this day:

> The artist as starving and dying; the artist as a deviant and a suicide; the artist as insane and alcoholic; the artist as undiscovered genius whose greatness is not recognised until after his death. One is reminded of Van Gogh, Modigliani and Utrillo – the insane, the alcoholic and the drug addict, respectively. (pp221)

As Elias identifies, the concept of a genius emerged through the period of the life of Mozart and others. The genius, artist as vulnerable, isolated and misunderstood by the bourgeoisie who wrongly branded him as a failure was explored in the highly iconic novel, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* written by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in 1774 (Heath and Boreham, 2002). It told the story of an artist who, facing the impossibility of his love for Charlotte and his sense of isolation from the philistine society with which he is expected to conform, commits suicide. Goethe's novel became hugely successful across Europe with the fashion amongst young men to wear blue coats and yellow breeches in honour of their hero's costume and 'Wertherism' was noted as a cultural trend in England (Heath and Boreham, 2002:pp38-39).

The English were later delivered a real life prototypical Werhterist romantic hero through Thomas Chatterton. Chatterton was a minor English poet who committed suicide in 1770 at the age of eighteen, worn down by poverty and the rejection of his work by patrons (De Botton, 2004:pp289). His life was dramatised by the playwright Alfred de Vigny and his play *Chatterton* which premiered in Paris in 1835 (De Botton, 2004). The play became a huge influence on a generation of newly emerging 'bohemians' across Europe

and his iconic value was established with Henry Wallis's portrait of the dead artist. Wordsworth described Chatterton as 'the purest writer' (Heath and Boreham, 2002:pp58) illustrating the emerging demand for the artist as a tragic figure who was uncompromising in their rejection of bourgeois values and materialism. As Frith & Horne (1987) write, Romanticism can act as a *demand* for artists, instructing to them to live *as* an Artist.

Therefore an important emergence from this period is that of the bohemian ideology, which Griff argues, was to become closely associated with the artist. He describes it as follows:

> It is an ideology which not only expresses antinomianism – moral, aesthetic and social – which is central to its ethos, but also implies an active conflict, a war with civil society. The function of this ideology was to give the artist an identity and a sanction justifying his alienation. This was done by affirming certain values – freedom of expression, and the realisation of self through artistic fulfilment – as transcending and antithetical to the values supported by bourgeois society. As a consequence, although the artist was in this way able to achieve identity and a sense of community with other artists, he was also committed to alienation and a sense of community with other artists. (pp221-2).

Hence the artist as bohemian is identified as occupying a differentiating role in society identified by abstaining from bourgeois values with all the alienation that this entails. It also describes a view of art that is committed to a higher ideal and hence places an onus on the artist to remain true to lofty ideals, even at the expense of poverty, depression, depravation and ultimately suicide. Johnson described it as follows:

> Answerable only to Art, holy and inviolate, the artist was at last free to feel pure inspiration unsullied by patron's demands. It was time to make the wealthy come up to their level. But romantic freedom was never more than a step away from paralysis, tied as it was to the supreme commandment of originality. Hence the agony of creation, the imperative for individuality above everything else, and the

> sense of sin when artists betrayed Art for lower ends. Liszt captured both sides of the equation with a rich metaphor: "[Artists are] predestined men – bound and chained – who have stolen the sacred flame from heaven". The myth of the predestined, driven artist was especially potent among audiences, who were fed a diet of real artistic suffering that almost always contained a dose of hype. Audiences, and for that matter the artists themselves, could not always tell which was which in the passion of performance. (pp265)

De Botton (2004) describes the emergence of bohemia, as a state of mind, from nineteenth century Europe. He identifies how Henri Murger's play, *Scénes de la vie de Boheme*, which gave an account of life in the garrets and cafés of Paris, gave a lose movement typified by people who did not, for one reason or another, fit the bourgeois conception of respectability, a word with which to define themselves. Quoting Ransome who wrote 'bohemia can be anywhere: it is not a place but an attitude of mind' (pp277), De Botton shows bohemia to be a broad church; 'there have been bohemians with servants and others in huts on the shores of quiet lakes; there have been guitar players and biologists; there have been outwardly conventional ones and others with a taste for bathing naked by moonlight' (pp277). He argues that bohemia has become associated with a variety of artistic movements over the past two hundred years: 'from Romanticism to Surrealism, from the Beatniks to the Punks, from the Situationists to the Kibbutzniks' (pp278). De Botton identifies as a defining point of bohemians a contrasting assessment of value which is pitted against the economic and meritocratic status system. Instead of valuing success according to typical conventions such as financial wealth, they valued the ability to be 'receptive to the world and to devote oneself, as a spectator or creator, to the primary repository of feeling: art' (pp280).

De Botton identifies a number of examples of artists being condescending to the earthly materialism of bourgeois values ranging from Marcel Duchamp complimenting New York's Greenwich Village as a 'true bohemia' because the place was, he said, 'full of people doing nothing', to Jack Kerouac speaking out against 'the commuters with their tight collars obliged to catch the 5.48 train at Millbrae or San Carlos to get to work in San Francisco' praising instead the free spirits, bums, poets, beats and artists who slept late and burned their work clothes in order to become 'sons of the road and watch the freight trains pass, take in the immensity of the sky and feel the weight of ancestral America' (pp280-3).

The demand of bohemia to reject and abstain from bourgeois values often lead to extreme circumstances. In 1794 the English poets Coleridge and Southey sought to develop a panistocracy, a utopian project in which they sought to establish a farming community on the banks of the Susquehama river in New England founded on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity; the project failed to materialise (Heath and Boreham, 2002:pp105). The celebrated US poet, Henry Thoreau, was another example; he moved into a log cabin he had built with his own hands in rural Massachusetts. His purpose, according to De Botton, was to prove that an outwardly plain but inwardly rich existence could be made possible by combining material scarcity with psychological fulfilment: 'Most of the luxuries, and many of the so-called comforts of life, are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind. Man is rich in proportion to the number of things he can do without' (Thoreau 1845, cited by De Botton, 2004:pp285).

A more ambitious attempt of bohemian abstention was made by a group of academics and intellectuals to start a new self-sufficient life on Mount Verita, near Ascona in 1917 (Desmond et al., 2000). This group were seeking to withdraw from the banal world of industrialisation, individualisation, Americanisation and urbanisation and to start a new community, which privileged the instinctual, the feminine, the 'primitive' act and 'untamed' creativity with aesthetics as the primary mode of expression (pp250). The Ascona project was pre-empted in 1844 in Massachusetts where a group of bohemian artists established a communal subsistence farm they named the Fruitlands (De Botton, 2004). They sought to grow enough vegan food to feed the body and then turn their energies to poetry, painting, nature and romantic love; exemplified by the maxim of the community founder Bronson Alcott: 'to *be*, not to *do*'. The project ended in failure within six months after the first summer was over, the lifestyle became an urgent battle to keep body and soul together and, facing starvation, the community dispersed. According to De Botton it was 'a familiar bohemian tale of idealism gone sour through an unbending refusal to subscribe to even minimal bourgeois discipline' (pp300).

The failure of the Fruitlands project marks an important problematic in bohemianism. As Adorno outlined in his text *Culture versus Administration* (Adorno, 2002d), the idea of free spirit is a myth as both culture and administration must remain locked together in a dialectical struggle. Attempts to realise pure unadministrated culture are doomed to failure, marked by the iconic suicide of Chatterton and the failure of Fruitlands. Whilst the spirit of bohemianism may exist mythically, the above discussion identifies that

bohemianism very much exists as an ideology with a specific lifestyle demand on artists and musicians.

4.5.2 The Artist as Genius

A further notion ascribed to the romanticist period is the concept of the artist as genius or virtuoso. According to Elias (1993) a further impact of Mozart's life was to contribute to the growing discourse of the artist as 'genius'. Johnson (1996), as always, describes it best:

> But it was not just the music that transfixed spectators but it was also the artist. This was the dawn of the great romantic legend of the artist-as-genius, divine or diabolical who revealed glimpses of another world. If Rossini's music had turned voices into dynamos of virtuosity, the generation of composer-performers who came of age in the 1830s went one better by embodying the fire and living continuously in its heat. Since the Old Regime the performer's identity had undergone steady transformation in the minds of the public, as the old image of artisan in the service of prince or church gave way to artist answering to no one. A moment in 1790 crystallises the transition, when the violinist Viotti agreed to give a private recital for eminent nobles on the condition that it be held in a modest fifth-floor apartment. "We've descended to their level long enough," Viotti reportedly said; "times have changed, and now they have to come up to ours." (pp264-265).

Heath & Boreham (2002) identify the romantic artistic genius as the virtuoso and provide the example of Niccoló Paganini as the prototype. After musicians such as Mozart's break with feudality, Paganini no longer relied on aristocratic or institutional patronage but instead upon a paying audience of regular concert-goers. Paganini composed music for his own performances of high complexity and this, matched with his dramatic personal appearance, helped to perpetuate the Faustian ideal that he had made a pact with the devil. Noting how the proletariat of Paris regarded a Paganini concert as the ultimate

experience, Johnson described in detail the attraction and mystery surrounding Paganini's concerts:

> His performances produced a chilling sense that the man was not quite of this world. His feats were famous – the violin turned up a half tone to give it a frenetic, scrappy sound; his contorted posture, hunched over to one side with the right shoulder unnaturally high; bravura transcriptions that all but obliterated the original melody under a firestorm of notes; his ability to play entire pieces on the G string, all others having broken under the strain; the abrupt silences and looks of sharp pain; the moments when he would suddenly stop and piously cross himself; the pizzicato, double-and triple-stops, piercing harmonics and grotesque imitations of dogs and cats. (pp266).

Indeed it becomes clear that Paganini (perhaps pre-empting the celebrated humbug of Phineaus Taylor Barnum, see Brown, 2001b) was one to court public controversy and his clever method was to deny accusations which hitherto had not existed: 'in a letter to the influential *Revue musicale* he meticulously recounted the gossip, he insisted, the better to expose it as calumny: he had *not* been a prisoner in the Bastille, he had *not* killed a rival in the house of a mistress, Satan had *not* appeared next to him dressed in red on the stage in Vienna, he did *not* murder a curé in Milan for his money' (pp265).

Indeed the image of the romantic artist as both bohemian and mysterious genius proved to be seductive for many romantic artists who gained quite a high self-conception, as can be seen in the following collection of quotations: 'Poetry is the breadth and finer spirit of all knowledge' (Wordsworth), 'Music is a higher revelation than any philosophy' (Beethoven), 'Poets are the acknowledged legislators of the world' (Shelley), 'Greatness in art is the expression of a mind of a God-made great man' (Ruskin) and 'The artistic life (means) to live as a bourgeois and to think as a demigod' (Flaubert) (all cited in Berlyne, 1971:pp21). Part of the romanticist contribution to our conception of the artist in

society is the artist as laying claim to exceptional wisdom and access to mysterious sources of knowledge that are beyond the reach of the average man. The impact of the fame of characters such as Paganini illustrate how this fetishisation of the personality had thrust itself into the centre of the romantic landscape as audiences started to believe that knowing the artist's personal lives could give an insight into their works, in turn the artists too came to be absorbed into this identity.

Finally, the change of the role of musicians in society during the romantic period ought to be taken into consideration alongside geo-political shifts in Western society. For example, Steinert (2003) illustrates that the plight of Mozart in seeking to distance himself from the patronage system was characteristic of a broader movement through which there was a shift in the development of bourgeois society. Indeed the romanticist movement entailed far more than a change in the perception, performance and composition of music, it also marked the rise and fall of Napoleon Bonaparte, the rise of German nationalism and culminated, according to Heath & Boreham's study, with Karl Marx who 'evolved through all the embryonic stages of romanticism first – an early interest in religion, a Byronic poet with Promethean ambitions, a young Hegelian philosopher, a revolutionary firebrand and a campaigning journalist' (Heath and Boreham, 2002:pp162). Therefore it ought to be noted that the changes in the conception of musician as artist during this time were tied to on-going changes in political, economic, musical, sociological and technological frameworks of society.

4.6 Modernist Art

According to Huyssen (2003) one element which has both characterised and defined the modernist period and has proved to be 'amazingly resilient' (pp29) to this day has been the contentious relationship between high art and mass culture. This is despite the fact, he writes, that there have been innumerable attempts launched from either side to bridge this gap or at least to appropriate elements of the other. Drawing on Huyssen's contention, much of what is regarded as modernist art can be interpreted through this contentious relationship.

An early example of this tension within modernist art was provided during the first world war when a group of artists who were disillusioned at the role that art was playing in expressing rabid nationalism and the general debasement of intelligentsia, moved to Zurich and there founded Cabaret – a venue which aimed to 'dupe, irritate and shock the public through its performances and recitations' (Steinert, 2003:pp87). According to Steinert (2003) the disillusionment of the artists with art was as much directed against the artistic and intellectual community – such as the existentialist Richard Dehmel who was prompted to march into battle – as it was against the audiences and general public whom they refused to treat with any respect. What followed was a movement which sought to break taboos, offend people's sense of decency and mock respectable opinion in the process and, as Steinert put it, "rub the public's faces in the hypocrisy and pretentiousness of 'learnedness' and respectable society? Why shouldn't they confront it with their rage?" (pp87).

This movement became known as Dada whose purpose was described by its founder Tristan Tzara as follows; 'intelligent man is now a standard type, but the thing we are short of is the idiotic. Dada is using all its strength to establish the idiotic everywhere' (cited in De Botton, 2004:pp295). Examples of Dada art included, Marcel Duchamp painting a moustache on a *Mona Lisa* and naming the work *L.H.O.O.Q.* which sounds like *Elle a chaud a cul* / She has a hot arse (De Botton, 2004:pp295). Another example was the Dada poet, Hugo Ball who pioneered a 'meaningless, multilingual poetry' which he would perform in Zurich nightclubs dressed in a suit made out of shiny blue cardboard with a witch's hat on his head (De Botton, 2004:pp297).

A particularly eccentric character who came to be associated with the Dada movement was the French composer Erik Satie who, noting how the bourgeois used music in the background to their activities – much like how music is employed in marketing studies - composed in true iconoclastic style what he described as Furniture Music (also see section 3.2.1):

> There's a need to create furniture music, that is to say, music that would be a part of the surrounding noises and that would take them into account. I see it as melodious, as masking the clatter of knives and forks without drowning it completely, without imposing itself. It would fill up on the awkward silences that occasionally descend on guests. It would spare them the usual banalities. Moreover, it would neutralise the street noises that indiscreetly force themselves into the picture (Lanza, 1995:pp17).

By this stage we can see that within the artistic community, there is a reaction against the fetishisation of the artist and a suspicion that there is a lack of understanding on the part of the audience to the 'true' intention of the artist leaving a truly ridiculous culture of art

consumption. Also, the Dada movement marks the artists beginning to satirise the notion of the artist as genius. As Tzara remarked 'the beginnings of Dada were not the beginnings of art, but of disgust' (Hofmann, 2001:pp3).

A movement happening in parallel to Dada was the so-called Second School of Vienna, a musical society who attempted to make their music and its performance independent of the demands of the paying public (Steinert, 2003) – the reverse of Mozart's earlier mission in the same city. The group included the composers Schoenberg, Berg and Webern (and later found a young disciple in Adorno. See Jager, 2004) and founded the Society for Private Music Performances in 1918. Journalists were banned from their performances as was clapping and programmes were never announced in advance to prevent people from choosing which performances they would prefer to see. Steinert writes that this was no longer a question of attracting, but rather of excluding the public – only a small circle of connoisseurs and enthusiasts were admitted, and these in turn took over the financial patronage of the concerts. Schoenberg described the desired effect as follows: 'one or more people make music, recite, sing; others anxious to share this experience are *permitted* to listen' (pp70). This encapsulates Schoenberg's view that the audience were a distasteful necessity, he once corresponded:

> I also hold the view that a work doesn't have to live, i.e. be performed, at all costs either, if it means losing parts of it that may even be ugly or faulty but which it was born with. The second question is that of consideration for the listener. I have exactly as little of this as he has for me. All I know is he exists, and in so far as he isn't indispensable for acoustic reasons (since music doesn't sound well in an empty hall), he's only a nuisance. (taken from Raynor, 1978:pp8)

From the start the project met financial difficulties, emanating from the huge costs associated with staging orchestral pieces. Ultimately the group sought to raise money by performing a concert of Strauss' waltzes in which the public were finally allowed to attend and even clap! However, for the most part such compromises were rare and Raynor describes Schoenberg as 'a completely neglected composer struggling with unforgettable courage and integrity against total neglect' (pp8). Raynor also noted that it was worth mentioning that, if only for economic reasons, Schoenberg took all the steps he could to see that his works were heard whenever possible.

Steinert (2003) critically describes the society as a highly arrogant project of demonstrative autonomy, a form of public aloofness in which the elite turn away from the public for all to see:

> Fundamentally it is a display of elitism, which either invites you to join the lofty heights of the privileged, or informs you that as a 'mere mortal', you can have nothing to do with the enterprise. Either way, artists gain their freedom at the expense of those others who are not permitted to share in it. The project of autonomy involves both stylising both 'art' and the 'artist' to such a degree that it sets them quite apart from the ordinary people. At the same time, it demands that these people acknowledge the artist's freedom as something 'special' and 'valuable'. It is a kind of 'credo quia absurdum' – 'I respect, since I can't understand'. It is really quite a cheek. (pp70)

An important feature of the music created by the Schoenberg circle, described as modernist music (Adorno, 1973), is its use of the so-called '12-tone' or 'serialist' system (Goodall, 2001). A central aspect of the 12-tone system is the use of dissonance and atonality, which can be described as being to music what a seemingly archaic and nonsensical splash of colours is to art – a form of music that one cannot listen to for relaxation. In this sense the music can be seen as rebelling against its own commodity

form and, by extension, the culture industry. Hence de-aesthetisication becomes the only way in which aesthetics can have an impact and here Adorno championed the most negative and dissonant modernist artists, including Kafka and Beckett in literature. This, he argued, was different to politically committed art that demand change but exist within the commodity form (Adorno's philosophy of modern music is outlined in section 1.5.6). Rather then condemning the elitism of the Schoenberg circle, Adorno believed that such aloofness from the cultural industry was the means possible for the production of art and intellectual enquiry (Steinert, 2003:pp71).

As already noted in section 3.3, in the 1950s there was an increase in discourse concerning the growth of consumerism and mass production. By the 1960s Frank (1997) illustrates how, rather than resulting in a movement away from consumerism, this critical discourse came to be channelled into cultural industry outlets including, advertising and popular music and took on a form which he labels the counterculture:

> Its heroes were rock stars and rebel celebrities, millionaire performers and employees of the culture industry. Its greatest moments occurred on television, on the radio, at rock concerts and in movies. From a distance of thirty years, its language and music seem anything but the authentic populist culture they yearned so desperately to be: from contrived cursing to saintly communalism to the embarrassingly faked Woody Guthrie accents of Bob Dylan and to the astoundingly pretentious works of groups like Iron Butterfly and The Doors, the relics of the counterculture reek of affectation and phoniness, the leisure-dreams of white suburban children like those who made up so much of the Grateful Dead's audience throughout the 1970s and 1980s. (Frank, 1997:pp8)

Section 3.3 outlines how the counterculture filtered into advertising production but it is also of note how the musicians within popular culture responded by maintaining the bohemian ideology whilst their music existed as commodities within the mass consumer

culture. Frith and Horne (1987) argue that a very useful space for observing this dichotomy was in the British art schools and how they (painfully) adapted to the evolving role of the artist in society. Accordingly during the 1850s the British fine art schools had adopted fine art identities and had 'absorbed the romantic assertion that art had something unsettling to say about industrial culture' (pp31). This led to a finely stated distinction between fine art courses, such as the National Diploma in Design (NDD) which was seen as not routed to any particular vocation, and design courses which were seen to educate students with a view to working in industry. The fine art courses, hence, became a haven of bohemia, as they describe:

> The NDD structure is often remembered now as the halcyon days of art school life, when bohemia was a viable career option and the artistic style of dress and life – fishermen's and women's jerseys and berets, the mandatory Victorian attic studio – was honed to fit the tawdry 1950s confusion of austerity and affluence. (pp40)

As time went by the sustainability of this form of art education became increasingly unsustainable, as Firth & Horne describe it 'the problem for art school students is that their dreams of creativity confront both an unsympathetic bureaucracy and a market place in which the soul of the artist is a commodity' (pp39), also there was growing concern as to whether funding bohemians was an appropriate way of spending British tax payers' money. In 1968 this clash came to a head when students and staff at the Hornsey College of Art rebelled against the proposed integration of their college into a polytechnic. According to Frith & Horn it was a moment of bohemian refusal, a protest against 'an attempt to impose curricular rigidity on art colleges; the reforms were an orthodoxy in an educational sphere proud of its unorthodoxy. But the Hornsey revolt also questioned the institutional conditions of art in wider terms. What was the location of art within

capitalism? Was fine art practice really marginal? How were art and design now feeding into consumer culture?' (pp51).

The Hornsey protest tied in with a broad global panoply of student protests and counter-culture which typified the end of the 1960s (Weiner, 1991). According to Frith & Horn this 'lose hippie movement' had created its own version of aesthetic revolt, working bohemian style into a general reappraisal of media form and image, and it was this collusion with the media which marked the difference between this period of dissent from previous 'angry young men and women' (pp52). Hence this counter-culture of the late sixties failed to overcome the tension between distancing and popularity, between selfish individualism and collective strategy (note this tension was previously explored in the case study in chapter two). According to Frith & Horne the outlet for playing out these dilemmas fell to one lucrative outlet for art school graduates, pop and rock musicians and they chart out how 'hippie counter-culture' and its evolution into punk played out the ideological concerns of artistic practice;

> Art school romanticism was translated into the terms of popular culture: bohemian solutions seemed relevant, briefly, to the way 'the kids' made sense of their everyday lives. The sociological assumption was (and is) that hippie youth culture was a middle-class response to affluence, punk a working class response to decay, but both responses were mediated by art students and articulated ideas of labour and leisure which reflected art students' own class confusion. (pp60-61)

In this point it is noteworthy to see how many different rock and punk musicians attended British art colleges, tabulated in Table 10. This illustrates how a generation of highly influential rock and pop musicians were grounded in a community concerned with the discourses of bohemia.

College	Musicians
Sidcup	Phil May, Dick Taylor, Keith Richards
Ealing	Ron Wood, Pete Townshend, Thunderclap Newman, Freddy Mercury
Kingston	Eric Clapton, Keith Relf, Sandy Denny, John Renbourne, Tom McGuinness
Camberwell	Syd Barrett
Wimbledon	Jeff Beck
Hornsey	Ray Davies, Roger Glover, Adam Ant, Vic Albertine (The Stilts), G. Lewis and Rob Gotobed (Wire), Steve Walsh (Manicured Noise)
Croydon	Mike Vernon
Sutton	Jimmy Page
Harrow	Charlie Watts, The Models
Hammersmith	Cat Stevens
Royal College of Art	John Foxx, Ultravox
St. Martin's	Glen Matlock (Sex Pistol and Rich Kid), Lora Logic (X-Ray Spex)
Central	Lene Lovich, Les Chappell, Joe Strummer
Epsom	Richard Butler (Psychedelic Furs)
Northampton	Kevin Haskins and Bauhaus
Coventry	Hazel O'Connor, Jerry Dammers, the Specials, Selecter and 2-Tone Movement
Leeds	Marc Almond and Soft Cell, Green Gartside, Scritti Politti, The Mekons
Manchester	Linder, the Ludus
Liverpool	John Lennon, Deaf School, Paul Rutherford (Frankie Goes to Hollywood)
Edinburgh	Jo Callis (Human League), Fay Fife, Eugene Reynolds, the Rezillos
Sheffield	Richard Kirf (Cabaret Voltaire)
Newcastle	Eric Burdon (The Animals)
Birmingham	Christine Perfect (Fleetwood Mac)
Bolton	The Buzzcocks
Bromley	Siouxsie, Billy Idol, Steve Severin
Beckenham	David Bowie
Ipswich	Brian Eno

Table 10 (Frith & Horn, 1987) British Pop musicians who attended art schools

Viewed in this way we can see how bohemian concerns regarding the role of art and the artist relative to market demands, continued to influence artistic production throughout the twentieth century.

4.7 Conclusions and Summary

In this chapter the relationship of the musician and the market through history has been explored. Starting from the medieval jongleur and moving through the Renaissance, the eventual break of musicians from the feudal system up to the present day, it has been

noted that this relationship has been highly contentious and at various points in history has actually *defined* the musician within society.

Through the above brief historicisation of the musician and the market, we can conclude that both have been highly influential on one another. The rise of the bourgeois consumer market, which has been traced back to the Renaissance, was marked from the very beginning with a demand for cultural and aesthetic artefacts which were used as a badge of prestige. Perhaps the best example of the market being influenced by art was provided during the 1960s counterculture, whereby creative concerns over the dominance of the mass market resulted in a new range of consumer products designed to appeal to subjective and bohemian values. Throughout the historical relationship, music has constantly been created according to market demands, as stifling as this might have been. Even where brave attempts to liberate the musician from the market were enacted, such as the Successions, the music was still shaped as an anti-commodity, i.e. still hugely influenced by the market itself, if only by trying to become its opposite.

As Attali (1985) has argued (see section 1.5.5) the market has perhaps been as much influenced by the work of the musicians as they have sought to carve out their own space inside it. In this, musicians have often acted as harbingers of change, for example Mozart's attempt as a member of the bourgeoisie to free himself from the court constraints could be seen as a prophecy of the French Revolution where the same process was repeated through military and political aggression. The romanticist period could be

interpreted as the musicians and other creatives pre-empting the rise of modernity as they could foresee the rising materialism which would challenge the idea of the individual.

An important distinction is how resilient the ideas that emerged out of the romantic period have proved to be as certain elements, such as the bohemian ideology, have continued to attach themselves to artistic production well after the romantic period (Griff, 1960). In fact as Raynor tells us, almost our entire concept of music and the artist emerged from this intense period in history:

> Our musical thinking has been so completely dominated by nineteenth-century conceptions of art as pure activity, occupying only the higher strata of its creator's consciousness and unaffected by such lower strata as those which reckon up the bills and consider the possibility of paying them, that we do not consider the composer's relationship to the musical world in which he must, as employee no less than freelance, secure performance and publication. (Raynor, 1978:pp10)

An important conclusion that could be drawn here is that despite musicians' best attempts to symbolically distance themselves form the market and materialism, their attempts are rendered futile due to their reliance on capital as a precursor to marking music. As Steinert shows us, the seemingly inevitable impossibility of their mission never seems to discourage them from trying anyway and the table below is a typography of the various working alliances that artists seek to develop in order to negotiate this fundamental contradiction:

Name	Art	Artist	Context
Classic Bourgeois	Created autonomously as expression of artist's individuality	Artist as genius	Gallery, public need to be educated to understand, public as reverential
Avant-garde	Based on instruction which supposedly has audience's 'best interest' at heart	Artist as teacher	Art is used to stir up and mobilise people to act on behalf of the artists, concerns of manipulation
Modern	Emphasis on art for art's sake, withdrawal from public industry	Extreme classic bourgeois figure	Withdrawal from 'cheap thrills' of culture industry, performed in esoteric circles
Reflexive	Conditions of artistic production and reception became subject matter for art	Artist moves into background as public become participants in the event	Shift from art as work towards art as event

Table 11 (Steinert, 2003) Working Alliance Framework

This conception continued to evolve through the modernist era where the market relationship between what was taken to be high art and mass produced art started to drive artistic production arguably reaching its conclusion with pop art. As Frith & Horn's study shows us, a generation of British art school students were entirely puzzled by how their self-identity should take shape caught between two entirely conflicting roles of the artist in society, as they certainly were.

Also of great interest, though arguably far less understood, is the Attali (1985) argument that the artistic sensibility would gradually inform the market. For Frith & Horn (1987) this art/commerce dialogue is highly influential, in fact they see it as a foundation of the success and continued survival of the mass market itself:

> The 'death of the author' in high culture means the cult of the author in mass culture, as we all wear signed goods as a mark of exclusivity and stars are made out of the blank bodies that appear in advertisements. Just as the success of the mass market – everyone is the same – depends on each person's individual impulse to be different, so the triumph of consumption depends on the continuing romantic belief in creative market power and the individual voice. (pp169)

Therefore in order to understand the relationship between art and the market, we must move beyond the conventional mourning of the lack of artistic freedom which has been

cruelly denied to artists by reified and alienated theory-x people. Instead we should consider how romantic notions of 'truth' and 'subjectivity' and 'uniqueness' are registered in normal market relations themselves and that whilst the musicians and artists may be highly influential within this process, it is a process that affects everybody. They write:

> What this suggests to us is that not that we are all now colonised by advertisers' fantasies, but that the interplay of artifice and authenticity is central to *everyone's* lives in consumer capitalism. In looking at the shifting ways in which the love-hate relationship of the artist and society has been worked out in pop, we simply find the dialectic in graphic outline... the romantic urge to be different fuelled market mechanisms which ensured that everyone stayed the same, but in both cases the urge remained all powerful – for music makers and consumers alike. (pp180)

An empirical study that lends support to this theorisation is provided by Holt's (2003) genealogy of the Mountain Dew brand. Holt claims that successful brands, such as Mountain Dew, are those which successfully negotiate the 'cultural myths', which he takes to be 'myths that support particular social identity projects in response to emerging contradictions in society'. The spoils are promised to the brand managers who can successfully tap into the zeitgeist and see those cultural contradictions, which Holt takes as the difference between national ideologies and citizens' identity and conditions of everyday life. For example, during the counterculture Holt argues that Mountain Dew noticed the discrepancy between the prevalent scientific-bureaucratic ideology of the time and the traditional masculine ideals. The contradiction took the form of a denial of the common historical virile masculinity of the self-reliant frontiersman. Tapping into this contradiction, Mountain Dew was able to develop their highly successful 'Hillbilly Myth Market' where their hugely successful advertisements featured Appalachian characters such as the wonderful 'Willie the Hillbilly'.

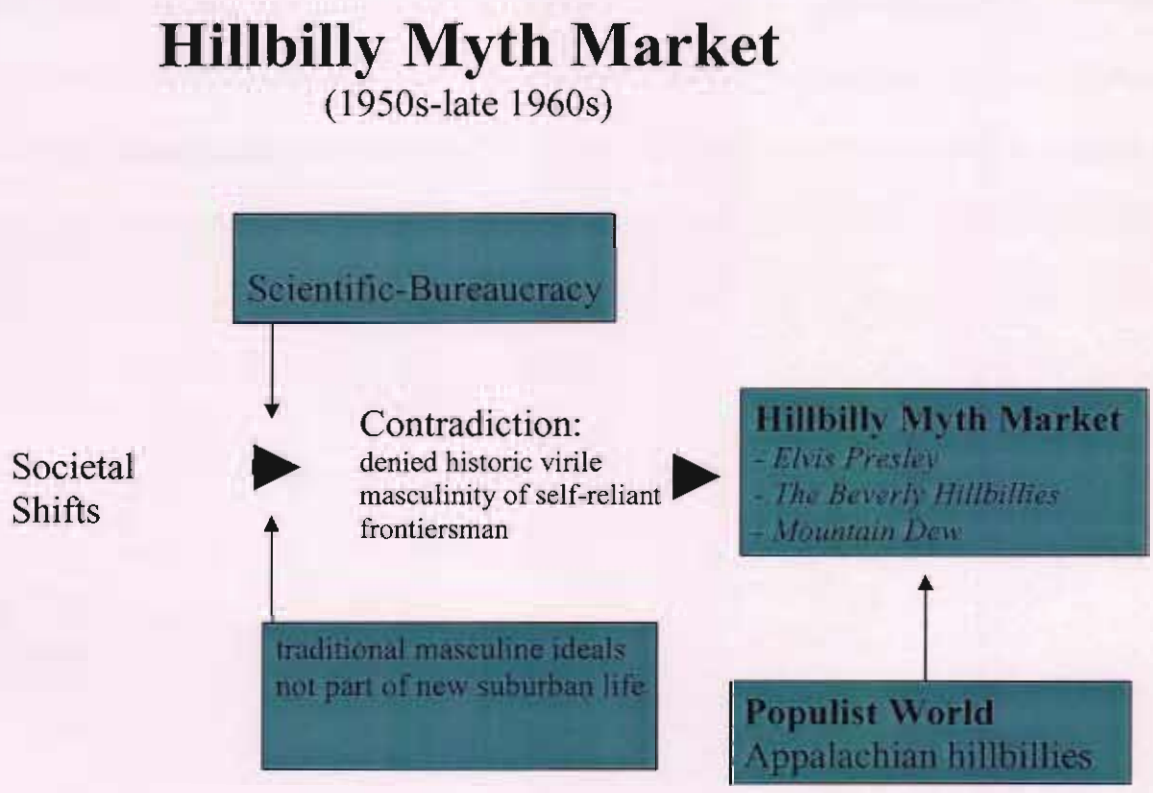

Figure 13 (Holt, 2004) Hillbilly Myth Market

For Holt the challenge for marketers is to draw on extensive cultural knowledge and then align their brand 'with the appropriate rebel subculture and understand the rebel's ethos deeply enough to construct a credible and evocative new myth' (Holt, 2003:pp49). Holt's work provides an excellent example of how the market is shaped by aesthetic identities and indeed helps us to see Firth & Horn's contention that the market is partly shaped by musicians in operation. This chapter illustrates how the musician in a romantically informed society traditionally represent the values of freedom of self-expression and the realisation of self through artistic fulfilment and that these values are antithetical to and transcendent of bourgeois values (Griff, 1960). This locates the musician in a strategic position in carving out contradictions in national ideology. Therefore, the significant

conclusion from this chapter is that (echoing Attali) a deep understanding of musicians helps us to make sense of our markets as musicians are at the cutting edge of shaping the form of the society that we live in today.

Chapter 5 Methodology - An Interactionist Research Framework

5.1 Introduction

Rather than just a research methodology, from the very beginning of this document onwards all that has been presented thus far has been informed by an interactionist viewpoint; from the conception of background music as an attempt towards social control, to the conception of musicians as pursuing a moral career within an occupational community. This chapter now reviews the interactionist research framework underpinning the dissertation and locates interactionism within the context of the overall thesis. This filters into the selection of the empirical case method which emerges from the literature conversation. Showing the direct links between the conversation and the research design, the qualitative approach to this dissertation is presented.

The research framework is based upon interviewing musicians. The study is located within an existing body of research which have also researched musicians, and the chapter reflects on the methodological approaches that these studies have taken. Following this the research design of the dissertation is presented and this includes an introduction to the researcher, a description of the purposive sampling technique used, a discussion of the challenges of accessing musicians, the forms of the interviews considered and finally a description of the data analysis is undertaken.

5.2 *Introduction to Interactionism*

Interactionism has been described as a research tradition that was typified by a large level of qualitative research conducted in Chicago University Department of Social Science in its first 'school' during the 1920s and its second during the late 1940s to early 1950 (Atkinson and Housley, 2003; Becker, 1999; Craib, 1992b; Meltzer et al., 1975). Since then, according to a recent study conducted by Atkinson & Housley (2003), the core principles of interactionism and the Chicago schools, which has been described as the world's first sociology department (Becker, 1999), have been often unwittingly integrated into a series of other methodological approaches. They claim that most of contemporary qualitative research has been in some way permeated by interactionism leading to Atkinson & Housley's self-proclaimed exaggerated claim that 'we are all interactionists now' (Atkinson and Housley, 2003:pp144).

A recent article published by Becker (1999), considered to be a chief exponent of the second Chicago School (Atkinson and Housley, 2003; Craib, 1992b), challenged the existence of the Chicago School as a unified 'chapelle' claiming that there was considerable diversity within the Chicago School of Sociology. He notes how Hughes and Blumer, who are commonly regarded as twin embodiments of the tradition, held a very low opinion of one another's academic work and general intellect. Becker then, dismisses the idea of Chicago as a unified school of thought and the romanticised position in which it is typically held and instead argues that it ought to be regarded as a vigorous and energetic school of activity whose members collaborated in the day-to-day task of sociology (pp4). Indeed another writer identified as being a key influence

(Atkinson and Housley, 2003; Craib, 1992b; Meltzer et al., 1975), Herbert Blumer (1998) noted that the concept of interactionism was built around the writings of a large number of American figures and whilst there was great similarity between their writings, there were also significant differences and this resulted in a lack of a clear formulation of interactionist idea. Therefore, attempts to present a unified or coherent body of theory based on this large body of research should be considered to be problematic. This led Craib (1992b) to describe interactionism as being 'strong on empirical work and weak on theory' (pp85).

In addressing this issue, Fisher and Strauss (1978) suggest that there were at least two main traditions of interactionism grounded in different intellectual traditions – hence interactionism represents a 'dual tradition'.

First, is the large empirical research tradition that they attribute to the leadership of Thomas & Park – two professors who encouraged students to undertake empirical and qualitative research. During the 1920s Chicago was a melting pot of cultures, a clash of Old Europe and the New World and one of the first cities to include modern high rise apartment living with office blocks and large department stores. Treating the city as a 'natural laboratory', a generation of researchers took to the streets and studied the social change and migration in what came to be the genesis of ethnographic research (Atkinson and Housley, 2003:pp4). The contribution of this side of interactionism, then, was a commitment to the investigation of local and urban societal processes of change which is perhaps best represented by Blumer's (a key figure during this period) mantra which he

routinely delivered to his students; 'get your hands dirty in the real world' (Becker, 1999:pp3).

Fisher & Strauss (1978) attribute the second root of interactionism to the philosophising of George Herbert Meade. His main concern was the evolutionary departure, which allowed humans to vicariously communicate emotion (Mead, 1932). So whilst a dog can communicate anger, for example, by baring his teeth and growling fiercely, he cannot communicate anger by any other way apart from being angry himself. Humans, however, through language and other forms of communication can demonstrate anger without necessarily experiencing those emotions and this, in Mead's view, represented a highly significant evolutionary development in humans with broad consequences, such as the creation of culture in that human social actors can exchange experiences, cumulate knowledge and share meanings (Atkinson and Housley, 2003).

By the time of Mead's death in 1931, despite the existence of a large number of journal articles, he had not systemised his position in a larger printed form. To address this problem, his students and colleagues at the University of Chicago developed a book based on their notes on his lectures and it is this collection that forms the basis of what we regard to be his writings today. For Mead, a core part of his philosophy was to 'abandon the conception of a substantive soul endowed with the self of the individual at birth, then we may regard the development of the individual's self, and of his self-consciousness within the field of his experience' (Mead, 1962:pp1). Mead argued that whilst behaviourist science had achieved this to a certain extent, at that time it was,

'simply an approach to the study of the experience of the individual from the point of view of his conduct, particularly, but not exclusively, the conduct as it is observable to others' (pp2). This approach, he argued, was close to animal psychology and failed to account for the field of introspection and experiences that were private and belong to the individual himself, in other words the subjective. He compared this approach of behaviourists to the attitude of the Queen in *Alice in Wonderland* – "off with their heads!" However beyond the subjective itself, Mead (1962) wanted to explore meaning within the wider social context in which it takes place, so that rather than building up the behaviour of the social group in terms of the behaviour of the separate individuals composing it, rather we should start with 'a given social whole of complex group activity, into which we analyse (the elements) the behaviour of each of the separate individuals composing it' (pp7). Therefore the whole (society) is prior to the part (the individual), not the part to the whole and the part is explained in terms of the whole, but the whole of the part or parts' (pp7). Based on this premise Mead developed his triad of 'I', 'Me' and 'Society', all considered as part of the same phenomenon. Mead wrote (1932:pp192):

> The human individual is a self only in so far as he takes the attitude of another towards himself. In so far as this attitude is that of a number of others, and in so far as he can assume the organised attitudes of a number that are co-operating in a common activity, he takes the attitudes of the group toward himself, and in taking this or these attitudes he is defining the object of the group, that which defines and controls the response.

This refers to the dialogue between people as they collectively define situations and each other, but also to the internal dialogue in which the individual starts to regard himself as a kind of 'other' which is presented through social interaction. Goffman (1990) later developed this triad using a dramaturgical metaphor and described the 'I' versus 'Me' as

the *performer*, who is a "harried fabricator of impressions involved in the all-too-human task of staging a performance" (pp244) and secondly the *character* who is a "figure, typically a fine one, whose spirit, strength, and other sterling qualities the performance was designed to evoke" (pp244). Therein, he claims, lies a basic dialectic in that the performers dwell in a moral world but also that performers, or indeed individuals, are concerned not with the moral issue of realising these standards, but with the amoral issue of engineering a convincing impression that these standards are being realised. Therefore, he argues, "our activity is largely concerned with moral matters, but as performers we do not have a moral concern with them. As performers we are merchants of morality" (pp243).

To summarise, we can therefore see interactionism as a dual tradition defined by a commitment to empirical sociological research and also by its own ontology which sees the emergence of 'self' as emerging through a complex process of interaction between 'I', 'Myself' and 'Society'. Before considering how interactionist thought can be applied to our understanding of musicians, at this point it is useful to clarify the differences between interactionism and symbolic interactionism and these differences are addressed in the following section before a discussion of how interactionism specifically relates to the present study.

5.2.1 What is the Difference Between Interactionism and Symbolic Interactionism?

In an attempt to codify the work of Mead and to establish a number of fundamental principles, Blumer (1998) sought to co-ordinate the philosophy of Mead and also the

Thomas & Park inspired research into a central body (Atkinson and Housley, 2003). Given that individual and group action is meaningful, he stressed the 'symbolic' functions in emphasising how human beings act on the basis of their interpretations and understandings and developed symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1962). Two key elements of Blumer's symbolic interactionism were the emphasis on the voluntaristic side of social action and also a tendency towards naturalism in the empirical research design. Blumer (1998:pp183) describes the three core assumptions of symbolic interactionism as follows:

1. Human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.
2. These meaning are the product of social interaction in human society.
3. These meanings are modified and handled through an interpretative process that is used by each individual in dealing with the signs each encounters.

An important aspect here is the definition of the object which Blumer took to be 'anything that can be indicated, anything that is pointed to or referred to' (pp10). In this he defined three classifications of objects:

1. Physical objects, such as chairs, trees or bicycles
2. Social objects, such as students, priests, a president, a mother or a friend
3. Abstract objects such as moral principles, philosophical doctrines, or ideas such as justice, exploitation or compassion.

The nature of the object, then, consists of the meaning that it has for the person for whom it is an object; 'this meaning sets the way in which he sees the object, the way in which he is prepared to act towards it, and the way in which he is ready to talk about it' (pp11). As Mead puts it 'what one must insist upon is that objectively observable behaviour finds expression within the individual, not in the sense of being in another world, a subjective world, but in the sense of being within his organism' (Mead, 1962:pp5). He gives the

example of a telescope which only exists as a telescope provided that the person has a particular nervous system which is capable of using it, without that particular nervous system the instrument would be of no value and therefore not a telescope.

Whilst Symbolic Interactionism was an attempt to codify and promote disparate research and the philosophy of Mead into a unified school of thought, Blumer's approach has been criticised for defining the research tradition too narrowly and failing to capture all of the empirical work (Atkinson and Housley, 2003:pp2). For this reason some of the key figures associated with Chicago have sought to distance themselves from the term 'symbolic interactionism' (Atkinson and Housley, 2003:pp3; Becker, 1999).

Blumer was part of the so-called second Chicago School which followed the Second World War as a generation of troops were granted funded research in USA universities and the Chicago School of Sociology had a sudden influx of energetic students (Becker, 1999). It was here that Erving Goffman published some of his seminal texts including *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1990) which was primarily based on his research into the Shetland Island community and his research into closed communities, especially asylums (Atkinson and Housley, 2003).

As previously stated, a dramatic and self-admittedly exaggerated claim was made by Atkinson and Housley (2003) in their newly published study into interactionism in British studies – namely that 'we are all interactionists now' (pp144). It should also be pointed

out that they made a similar counter-claim, that 'we were never interactionists!' (pp34) and this claim is now considered.

5.2.2 'We were never interactionists'

By the claim "we were never interactionists", Atkinson & Housley (2003) argue that interactionism has been neglected in British studies and has failed to gain currency as a conventional and institutionalised method as it has in the United States of America. However, they state that many of the most significant features of interactionism have been incorporated into highly valued streams of social thought through convergence of ideas and the "re-discovery" of interactionist fundamentals in other disciplines. This is partly due, they claim, to the tradition of British researchers taking a more eclectic and individualised approach to research, especially at doctoral level with much less emphasis placed on schooling students into particular schools and research traditions – a practice that allows the student to assimilate ideas into their research from a diverse variety of sources without necessarily giving due credit to the origins of those fundamentals. In this vein they trace how typically interactionist ideas became integrated into other research perspectives, for example, the focus on everyday life became the domain of social phenomenology (pp53) whilst much of the post-modern conditions parallel the descriptions of modernity to be found in the first Chicago School sociology, for example, like postmodernists, interactionists hold that people are not objective observers of the world, realism is a defunct epistemology, fiction fuses with fact, representations are based upon other representations, reality is infinite, symbols and their referents do not widely match and as Maines stated for both traditions; "in general things are not as they

seem but we have to interpret and deal with them anyway" (cited in Atkinson and Housley, 2003:pp146). A second dimension is, they argue, the sociologist tendency towards "radical chic" (pp147) based on scholars seeking to align themselves with new, esoteric and fashionable theories (pp146):

> The contentious and argumentative character of the social sciences – and sociology in particular – has placed too high a value on rejecting ideas in order to adopt a more exclusive and esoteric 'position' for oneself. Such a position would, it appears, be based on the exclusive and enthusiastic endorsement of one theorist, one school or one grandiose idea. As a consequence we celebrate a narrow selection of ideas and ignore many others. (pp146)

Rather than seeking to present interactionism as such an esoteric position or indeed one that 'has all the answers' (pp146), Atkinson & Housley encourage scholars to consider the role of older approaches such as interactionism rather than embarking on an endless and restless search for new ideas.

An example of such a subsumption, Atkinson & Housley argue (2003) is provided by Discourse Analysis. Noting that there has been an 'explosion of interest in language and the social' (pp85), which has spawned a range of analytical methods to explore language with a view to understanding social structure, representation and interaction, Atkinson & Housley note the absence of such interactionist figures as Sacks and especially Goffman from contemporary studies and instead, the preference for such post-structuralist writers as Foucault. To Atkinson & Housley (2003), this was an extraordinary development considering the emphasis on language, interaction, meaning and communication within interactionism. As opposed to the Foucault and de Saussure focus in Discourse Analysis, Atkinson & Housley state that the linguistic turn had its genesis with empirical rather

than theoretical work and here they emphasise the work of Garfinkle, Sacks and Goffman to whom they attribute forging the link between language and the sociological. In particular they stress the importance of Goffman's development and promotion of interactionist concerns and the face-to-face interaction as a legitimate and important domain of enquiry (pp167). Atkinson & Housley do not suggest that discourse analysis and conversation analysis be subsumed within interactionism, however, they do state that they hold a connection with early interactionist literature and have 'developed an attention to the detailed machinery of social life that has clear resonance with the tradition and its core concerns' (pp167). This resonance serves as an illustration of the large yet typically unnoticed influence of interactionism within contemporary studies.

At this stage it is worthwhile to consider the literature thus far reviewed from an interactionist perspective.

5.2.3 What Would an Interactionist Think of the Literature Reviewed?

Chapter two contained a critique of the classic behavioural studies relating to the impact of music upon marketing contexts. Whilst the majority of these studies were conducted in relatively recent times, Blumer's 1959 article *Suggestions for the Study of Mass-Media Effects* (Blumer, 1998) contains a critique of variable analysis research which is directly applicable to these latter studies and illustrate the interactionist critique. Writing about studies of mass-media effects, Blumer argues that a basic similarity which underpins these studies is the way in which the problem is approached: 'the student identifies the influence in the medium which he wishes to study, he identifies the people who are

subject to this influence, and he seeks to ascertain the effects that result from the play of the given influence on the given universe of people' (pp183). This process entails pinning down three objects of concern:

> The medium-influence, as an independent variable is isolated in a clean-cut fashion so that it stands forth as a discrete and qualitatively independent item. The people on whom the influence operates are given a fixed qualitative composition in such terms as age, sex, nationality, and socio-economic status. The behaviour presumed to result from the medium-influence is treated as a specific and qualitatively homogenous item or series of items. The purpose of the study is to isolate a definitive and stable relation between these three objects, so that one may say that a specific medium-influence playing on a specific type of population will have such and such a specific result. (pp184)

The description of such studies balances with many of the marketing studies into the impact of background music, for example, see the method used by Herrington & Capella (1994). As noted in the discussion, a criticism that can be levelled at such studies is that they reify their subject matter, failing to account for the huge subjective differences that exist when people approach music. For example, as section 2.2.4.2 outlines, a treatment of music as a generic and fungible research variable must surely be profoundly flawed. Just as the Queen declared 'off with their heads' the reification of the research subjects denies the rich subjective aspects of the listening experience that research such as De Nora's (2000) shows that the listeners bring to music.

As De Nora (2003) tells us, although Adorno was never an interactionist nor did he ever concern himself with any American sociology, his work does bear comparison with the interactionist tradition specifically on how his theory shows how 'reality' can come to be produced as an objective fact. For example, she explores Garfinkle's (1967) study into the managed achievement of sexual status as an inter-sexed or androgynous person.

Garfinkle's study shows how one inter-sexed person sought to 'pass' herself socially as a woman by employing such gender roles as wearing pearls and developing her cookery skills but also by avoiding situations that could reveal her less feminine characteristics. 'The lesson to be drawn from Garfinkel's study', wrote De Nora, 'apply to the performance of all meanings, of all cultural categories *as if* they are naturally occurring' (pp7). Similarly Goffman's (1990) work on self-presentation shows how people draw on existing externally provided materials so to enact meaningful social scenarios in order to produce themselves as 'types' of workers or personalities orientated towards their social context. De Nora (2003) suggests that these studies can be read as highlighting the discrepancy or gap between social categories and material reality (pp8) and these help to empirically support Adorno's claims and demonstrate the massive tendency towards conforming to goals defined by culture industry. Interpreting this onto musicians means that they, perhaps unwittingly, present a picture that simply conforms to the idea of the musician as the rebel bohemian and in doing so fails to realise that this is part of culture industry myth. The point of departure between the two traditions is that Adorno turned away from a concern with actual social practice in favour of a focus on macro cultural concerns. Without wishing to overstate the case, there are grounds for arguing that interactionism and Adornian thought contain broadly similar points of definition.

The common link which ties together the interactionist paradigm, chapter one's conversation and the marketing studies into music is most strongly provided by the research of De Nora (2000; 2003) and her analysis of what happens when the music 'fits' with the context (see section 2.5.1). To briefly recap, numerous empirical studies have

demonstrated that when the background is appropriate to the context in which it is heard, organisational 'positive' outcomes can result, for example, increased sales or boosted product recall. Understood via an interactionist lens, which notes that people adjust their behaviour and self-identity relative to the social context in which they find themselves, musical fit can be seen as a mechanism towards implying the appropriate form of behaviour which will result in organisationally preferred action. De Nora (2003) writes [note see section 2.4.4 for a description of Areni & Kim's (1993) study]:

> In this sense, music may help to form the perception of that space, as it did in the study described above by Areni and Kim. Music may *prime* the way that actors attend to other initially less obvious features of a space, in the case of retail spaces, for example, the goods distributed for display and purchase across space such that music with 'high culture' connotations may 'announce' the space and the goods as 'up-market'. The aesthetic configuration of space thus provides information; it offers cues about types and styles of acts, and the various social-psychological experiments that have been conducted in shops and supermarkets seem to show how human beings orient to these cues, often in subliminal ways, as they engage in patterns of behaviour that involves choices or rival lines of conduct. (pp130-131)

In this sense we can return to Goffman's (1990) idea of the dramaturgical nature of people as 'actors' who shape their behaviour relative to the social context. An important point to note here is that this configuration of space through music is a one-way process; she writes 'it is thus possible here to speak of musical space as 'configuring' (and indeed 'controlling') the actor's social response, to see aesthetic environment as it becomes constitutive, structuring factor of action' (pp131). Of course given the imbroglio state of marketing studies (see section 2.4.4.2) the original studies can be seen as flawed and making secondary conclusions based on these studies is therefore problematic. However as noted, the researchers were generally in agreement that musical fit was highly

influential on consumer behaviour, therefore, De Nora's interactionist style interpretation of these studies ought to be taken into account.

Returning to North & Hargreaves's (1997a: see review in Section 2.4.4.3) study which found that playing French music could boost the sales of French wine over sales of German wine, and vice versa, De Nora (2003) suggests that what is needed is re-consideration of what we understand to be 'choice' in such a setting as it becomes reconceived as 'a kind of sub-logical, aesthetic, if not emotional form of action, moreover, that is coherent and that makes sense within the highly structured aesthetic-material environment of the supermarket wine section. 'Choice' here is the co-operation, quasi-consciously, with a mode of conduct environmentally implied' (pp132-133). The impact of this is to reduce the degree of agency that is available to the listener to even make decisions of personal preference. De Nora's (2000) earlier work shows how people use music in their private life to suggest cues for agency and mood. As studies such as Crozier's (1997) show us that musical tastes tend to be socially informed, we can speculate that a considerable element of personal agency is implied by music and as Adorno's critique of the principles of composition and arrangement claim (Adorno, 1973, 2002a), almost all contemporary music bears the marks of capitalism, suddenly we can see genuine empirical evidence to support his claim that within culture industry, music was being used as an ideological process to replace consciousness with conformity.

The final consideration is the conversation of grand theorists? How can it be tied into the wider interactionist understanding that underpins this dissertation? By seeking to put the

grand theorists into conversation with one another, the chapter concluded by noting that the grand theorists, in general, tended to be in agreement that culture had been locked into an unfortunate production-consumption nexus, which did not serve its original function and this was represented by its transformation from utility value to exchange value, and possibly beyond to sign and simulation. The above discussion, drawing particularly on De Nora (2003), illustrates through empirical research that background music is being deployed as a means of reproducing the capitalist system by shaping people's 'choice' in accordance with organisationally determined goals. This can be understood as music operating at sign value where it is taken as representing something else, i.e. in Areni & Kim's (1993) study classical music signifies a certain form of consumption behaviour. Also the artist has become fetishised in society through the cult of the artist as genius and this leads to her role being subject to an exchange value.

Yet as this study has consistently tried to argue, despite the commodity form of both the music and the musicians who make it, the music retains, at some level, its own utility form. The best example of this was provided in the discussion of authenticity (see section 3.4.1.1). The role of music in society can therefore be understood as a conflict with commerce constantly seeking to dominate culture but musicians (and indeed music listeners, e.g. see the discussion of the growth of indie music in section 3.4.4) seeking to resist. Taking the interactionist perspective, this dissertation looks to studies such as Becker's (1991) ethnography which demonstrated how musicians see themselves engaged in a form of war with non-musicians. It is in the formulation of the musician's self-identity, negotiated between the contradictory demands placed on musicians (to be

both anti-materialist yet produce music that will make money) that we can see this battle between music as utility value and music as exchange value taking place.

5.3 The Research Framework

The research framework, based on Holt's model of research and outlined in the introduction ensures that there is a flow between the research orientation and the literature review, divided between grand theory conversation and mid-range theory.
An implication of this approach is that the current research is located amongst an existing body of research and, as is now presented, the empirical method emerges from an on-going conversation within the literature.

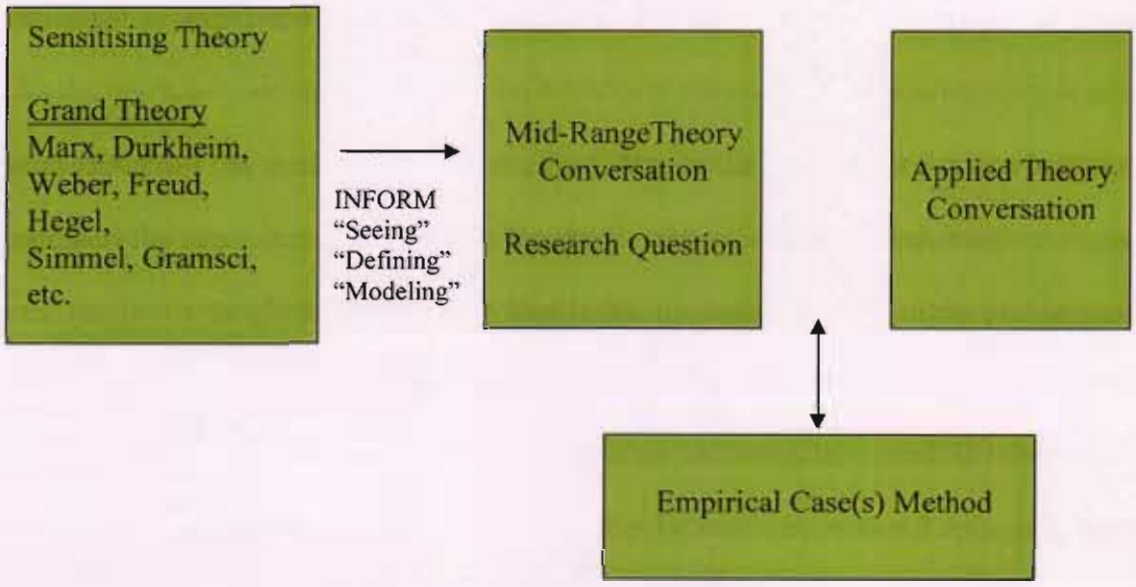

Figure 14 (Holt, 2004) Research Framework

Applying this model to the present study results in the framework illustrated above and previously outlined in the introduction. As stated, the chosen empirical method is in-

depth interviews with a cross-section of musicians. The following sections illustrate how this empirical orientation can be located within an existing research conversation. Section 5.5 then outlines the design of the empirical method employed in this study and how this, in turn, emerges out of the research conversation too.

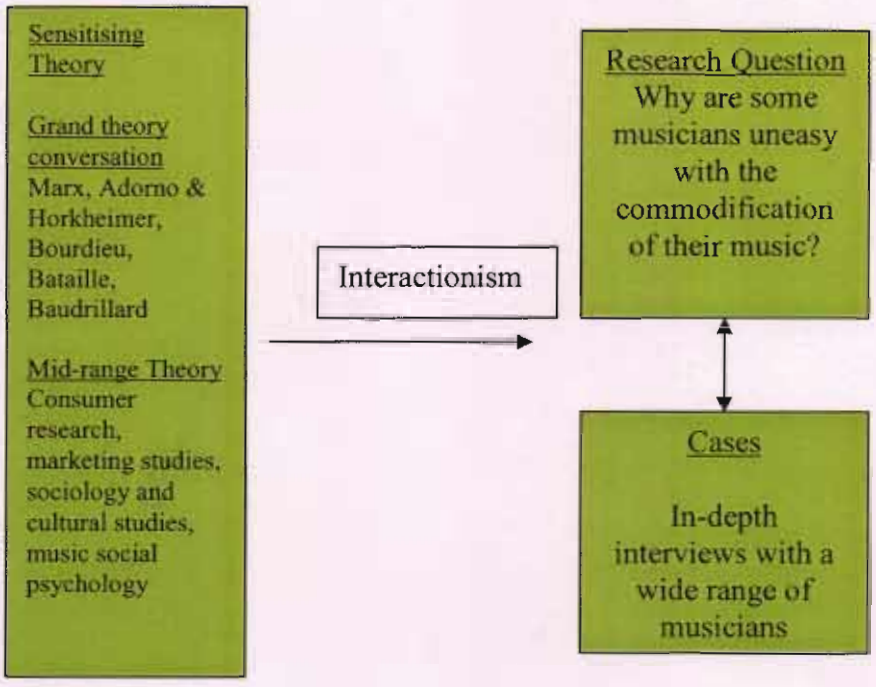

Figure 15 Research Framework Adapted

5.4 *Locating the Current Research Orientation*

As a study of why some musicians are uneasy with the commodification of their music, the research notes that there is already in existence a conversation of mid-range level theory which has addressed these concerns. The dissertation, of course, is not limited to those studies and has drawn from a wide framework of research on a myriad of issues which have informed the understanding of the dynamics under investigation. However, the intention is to locate the present study into that conversation and make a contribution

therein. Following Holt's (2004) model, this allows the study to be grounded in an existing research conversation in order to see what the main enigmas and puzzles that have emerged are with the intention of addressing them. To this end four studies of how musicians relate to the commodification of their music are selected and their empirical methods reviewed in order to illustrate how their methodologies have shaped the present study. The studies are:

- Howard S. Becker's seminal research into the lives of Chicago jazz musicians (1991)
- Cottrell's study into professional London musicians (Cottrell, 2002, 2004)
- Robinson, Buck & Cuthbert's (1991) study into local musicians seeking to survive in a global framework
- Kubacki & Croft's (2004) study into how musicians view the marketing of their music

A defining feature of these studies is their multi-disciplinary nature. Becker's study can be regarded as belonging to an interactionist and sociological framework, Cottrell belongs to an ethnomusicology tradition, Robinson, Buck & Cuthbert from popular music and communication studies and finally Kubacki & Croft belong to a marketing paradigm. Therefore the empirical conversation referred to can be regarded as a highly eclectic one. What follows is a consideration of the methodologies employed by these studies in orderto reflect on the methodological implications they raise with a view to subsequently developing the empirical research design for the present study.

5.4.1 Becker's Outsiders

Becker's (1991) text can be regarded as not just a seminal study within this conversation but also within the wider sociology, interactionist framework and specifically our understanding of the sociology of deviance and labelling theory (Atkinson and Housley,

2003; Cottrell, 2002; Plummer, 1975; Salaman, 1974). The study of jazz musicians was conducted within a wider investigation into a sociology of deviance which also considered cannabis smokers, moral entrepreneurs and rules enforcers.

Becker (1991) was in a privileged position to undertake a study into Chicago jazz musicians as he himself was a professional jazz piano player and hence worked and socialised alongside many of his research subjects. Thus the study can be described as a participant research because Becker participated with the musicians in the variety of situations that made up their work and leisure lives. Participant observational research has been defined by Mason (2002), as referring to methods of generating data which entail the researcher immersing herself or himself in a research 'setting' so that they can experience and observe at first hand a range of dimensions in and of that setting (pp84), and as Atkinson & Housley identify, Becker's study was one of the very first participant observation studies ever conducted. Becker claims that at the time that he composed the study, 1948-1949, many musicians were taking advantage of their benefits under the GI Bill which allowed people who had served in the US military to gain a scholarship for university. For this reason Becker claims that the fact that he was going to college did not differentiate him from others in the music business. He describes his approach as follows:

> I worked with many different bands and many different kinds of orchestras during that period and kept extensive notes on the events that occurred while I was with other musicians. Most of the people I observed did not know that I was making a study of musicians. I seldom did any formal interviewing, but concentrated rather on listening to and recording the ordinary kinds of conversation that occurred among musicians. Most of my observations were carried out on the job, and even on the stand as we played. Conversations useful for my purposes often took place also at the customary "job markets" in the local union offices where musicians looking for work and bandleaders looking for men to hire gathered on Monday and Saturday afternoons. (Becker, 1991:pp84)

5.4.2 Kubacki & Croft's Study

A marketing study which has explored how musicians themselves view the marketing of what they regard to be their 'art' was conducted by Kubacki & Croft (2004). In their study they sought to identify a whole range of attitudes, opinions, feeling and beliefs held by musicians about marketing and music. As the authors were somehow of the belief that there was a 'lack of any theories on this field', they took an 'inductive approach to reasoning':

> According to this, qualitative research starts with observations, and having defined the problem looks for relationships between data. Generalisations and conclusions are drawn during and after the analysis of any in-depth and focused insights that are revealed during interviews. (pp583)

Drawing on Thompson's work, they did not try to separate and objectify the experiences of the individuals, but describe them as they are – subjective and in their context. They conducted in-depth interviews which were unstructured but 'contained a few questions that were designed in advance in order to help direct the discussion and to obtain opinions about particular phenomena' (pp584). As such the interviews were dominated by open-ended questions 'in order to stimulate free expression' (pp584). To limit the research, interviews were only sought from musicians playing jazz or classical music. They also practiced judgemental sampling in order to cover musicians of different age groups, musical education, instruments and social background. Considering that their sample consisted of twelve musicians, it is somewhat remarkable that the authors claimed that this judgemental sampling resulted in their covering the whole variety of musicians. The musicians were split between professional and keen amateur musicians.

Whilst Kubacki & Croft (2004) did not specifically refer to their own role in the research, the brief biography of Krzysztof Kubacki found at the end of their article shows that he is a trained musician who has worked at the Helena Modrzejewska Theatre in Legnica and also the Opera Theatre in Wroclaw which is described as 'one of the biggest and most famous opera houses in Poland' (pp590). As many of the study's respondents were Polish musicians, it seems likely that these were musicians that he had built a professional relationship with. Again it may be speculated that, just as was the case with Becker's (1991) study, the author had an insider relationship with the musicians interviewed, which allowed him both access to musicians and an opportunity to achieve a higher level of rapport with the respondents. Unfortunately whether or not this is the case was not stated in the research.

5.4.3 Cottrell's Professional London Musicians

Cottrell's (2002) study of London performance musicians (see section 3.4.5) has also been based upon participant research. Once again Cottrell identifies himself as a one time free-lance musician with working experience alongside many of the interviewees, in fact he was the founder and for 18 years the leader of the Delta Saxophone Quartet. This allows him to describe himself as a 'native anthropologist'. He described the advantages of this as follows (Cottrell, 2004:pp16):

> Perhaps the most obvious advantage is that native anthropologists, being already immersed within the cultural system they wish to explore, 'understand' the language, conventions, customs, symbols, and so on which they seek to interpret for anthropological purposes. This has a number of positive consequences, such as obviating the need for interpreters and perhaps being more receptive to linguistic nuances, running less risk of upsetting people through inappropriate behaviour, having a better idea of when and where to be, and so on.

Cottrell undertook his research over the course of one musical season, though he noted that he also drew upon years of experience. His research was recorded in a fieldwork diary in which he sought to relate as accurately as possible the details of conversations, rehearsals, concerts or other significant events. He was keen to present himself as 'just another working musician'. As a native anthropologist he moves beyond merely interpreting data and instead places a far greater emphasis on his mediations as a professional musician, he writes 'what follows is drawn, at least in part, from the accumulated experience of one musician among a community of professional musicians whose beliefs, ideas and expertise he has pillaged at will; for better *and* for worse, this *is* a native's point of view' (pp30).

5.4.4 Robinson, Buck & Cuthbert's Local Musicians

The genesis for Robinson, Buck & Cuthbert's (1991) study into the tension between global and local music production arose at a conference in Paris. Following a suggestion that research ought to be undertaken to explore if new global conditions were generating an international youth culture, the authors set about organising a research consortium which would interview musicians from across the world. The group, which operated under the title the International Communication and Youth Consortium, consisted of forty people from twenty countries, who conducted in-depth interviews with musicians in their local context as well as case studies. Specifically they sought to find out how the interaction of political-economic factors working within the immediate environments of musicians affected their music-making activities and in particular, what the musicians themselves thought about these factors and their impact upon local production processes.

The authors noted that musicians are a difficult group to study systematically and this was due to the difficulties of accessing famous musicians and of finding a list of who the professional musicians are in a community and finally locating them.

The research itself took place over an eight-year period and left the contributors 'thoroughly convinced of the incomparable messiness' of cross-cultural research yet they remained dedicated to continuing such research (pp xii). Part of their difficulties arose from the cultural and linguistic differences and because 'qualitative researchers frequently can be quite intractable in accommodating quantitative research perspectives' (pp288). They regarded in-depth interview techniques as best for allowing the research to move beyond examining macro factors to the more intimate details of musicians' everyday lives. As such 220 interviews were conducted with local musicians from eight countries in different regions of the world. The interviews were open-ended and they 'simply asked musicians what they thought about certain phenomena and then took down everything each person said'. (pp289). Their interviews typically lasted between two and four hours. Regarding the problems of cross-cultural sampling, they sought to select musicians who best represented each local scene relative to several criteria: locally popular genres, age, sex, ethnicity and relative experience in music production.

The study does not reflect on whether their researchers have prior experience of the music industry. However, trawling through internet home pages suggests that some of them do, for example one of their collaborators, Lawrence Grossberg, spent a year touring with a group across Europe before becoming an academic and Paul Friedlander

has extensive experience as a musician including performing with Pete Seeger at Carnegie Hall.

5.4.5 Discussion of the Selected Studies

From the above studies we can see that they are all in some form an 'insider account', in that they have been conducted by musicians or in the case of Robinson et al, the study was conducted by a research group which included musicians. Unfortunately, with the exception of Cottrell, the studies have been poor in reflecting on the importance of their experience as musicians as a pre-curser to their study. However, Becker (1991) did develop his theory on how musicians divided the world between 'cats' and 'squares' (see section 3.4.5 for discussion). This manifested itself, according to Becker, in the musicians holding the world of non-musicians in a form of contempt and an increased intensity of community between the musicians. Whilst Becker did not lay claim to be a 'cat', it nonetheless can be assumed that as a fellow musician he was held within the jazz community as being a 'cat' and therefore in an 'insider' position that the musicians would confide with him. Similarly an insider position was found to be important in Patterson & Elliot's (2002) research into tattooed women; the researcher found that having a tattoo allowed for more insightful interviews as he was more inclined to be trusted by the interviewees.

An important issue raised here is the location of the researcher within the study, as Mason (2002) states 'if you have chosen observational methods you are highly likely to conceptualise *yourself as active and reflexive* in the research process' (pp86). According

to Alvesson & Skoldberg (2000) who explored the 'notoriously ambivalent' relation of a researcher's text to the realities studied, participant research is a useful means of producing empirical material on non-trivial phenomena as it reflects the fact how interviewees regularly appear in research or how they represent reality 'has less to do with how they, or reality, really are (or how they perceive a reality out there); rather it is about the way they temporarily develop a form of subjectivity, and how they represent reality in relation to the local discursive context created by the interview' (pp193). For a study which seeks to understand a phenomenon such as the relationship between musician and commerce, as Becker identifies an almost militaristic and fundamentalist dedication to musician community, membership of that community was surely a necessary precursor for Becker to both gain access to the musicians and then be held in a position of trust within the interview setting. The implication is that the identity of the researcher in terms of the research community may be a critical point.

A second dimension to this important point is that of *access,* namely how does the researcher get access to the respondents? As musicians are typically busy people and often famous and therefore sometimes unresponsive to requests for meetings, gaining access to musicians is an important issue. As Negus (1999b) identifies, managers of musicians often act as gatekeepers filtering what communications are sent to the musicians. As music managers are typically disinterested in helping academics (which can be considered as a finding of this research), there are very real problems in communicating with well-established musicians and arranging interviews. Once this problem of access can be overcome, Mason (2002) then encourages us to consider what

form of access the researcher now has; 'it might be full, partial, conditional, intermittent – and to which regions or interactions?' (pp92). If the researcher as non-musician can succeed in gaining access to musicians, if he is regarded as a 'square' by the musicians, it may be reckoned that this will have a large influence on the type of answers he will receive. It might be speculated that this may well be the reason why studies of musicians are so rare and then when they do exist, tend to be conducted by musicians themselves.

An important issue that follows from this is, if the researcher is a musician, is there a risk that he becomes an apologist for the musicians? Is it desirable that studies of musicians emanate exclusively from within the musician community rather than being conducted by 'outsiders'? Indeed as Cottrell noted, being able to speak the language of musicians did carry certain drawbacks, namely:

> Not having to learn a language might make one think less about exactly what words mean, how they are used and what this might reveal about underlying concepts. Being familiar with certain customs excludes the learning process that comes with *not* being familiar and the insights which may arise from this learning, since such learning has generally been left far behind in a time when it was most likely unconscious. (pp17)

This returns the discussion to Alvesson & Skoldberg's (2000) call for increased reflection from the researcher; 'reflection means interpreting one's own interpretations, looking at one's own perspectives from other perspectives, and turning a self-critical eye onto one's own authority as interpreter and author' (ppvii). As already commented on, apart from Cottrell none of the selected studies here reflect on their role as musician-cum-researcher and how this impacts their understanding of the subject.

5.5 *The Present Study – Research Design*

Following Holt's (2003) framework for research, the empirical case method emerges from the existing empirical conversation. As the four selected studies all have qualitative methods, this is the approach that therefore is selected. In the cases of Kubacki & Croft (2004) and Robinson, Cuthbert and Buck (1991), extensive and non-directive interviews were sought. As opposed to this Becker (1991) and Cottrell (2004) employed participant observation methods. As the latter option is impossible for me as a non-musician, the present research design follows the convention of in-depth-interviews. As most of the data in both Becker's and Cottrell's studies are presented in the form of recorded transcripts of musicians' discourse, the present study can still seek to contribute to the conversation in which Becker's and Cottrell's work is found.

The limitations of the research design as they apply to the entire dissertation are outlined and discussed in section 7.2.

5.5.1 The Researcher Introduced

In addressing the issues noted above, it is considered useful for the researcher to finally drop the third person references and reveal himself and his relation to both the research and the musicians interviewed. His/ my name, therefore, is Alan. Unlike the other researchers listed above, I cannot claim to have been a professional musician and whilst I do own a guitar and 'play' it in a rather unfortunate manner, any claims towards my being a musician ought to result in some raised eyebrows, to say the least.

Figure 16 The Researcher Introduced

Whilst I am not a musician, I was born and raised in a very musical environment and have been surrounded by musicians. My father, Harry Bradshaw, has occupied numerous positions in the business of music and broadcasting. He has been a bass guitar player in a rock band, a producer of a radio music series for over thirty years, has produced and sound engineered over thirty albums, he has been a music archivist and an award winning re-masterer of historical recordings, he is a record label owner, a music historian and has promoted concerts. To this end throughout my life I became accustomed to the company of musicians as regular callers to the house and have travelled the length and breadth of Ireland helping him to record musicians and have sat in on a large number of music recording sessions. Furthermore I am a music lover who has dedicated a sizeable portion of my income and time to advancing my musical knowledge.

I have spent several months working in a small music-publishing house and record label named Crashed Records. I have also worked as a background music supplier for two

years providing music programmes to cafes, bars and shops throughout Ireland, hence my initial interest in researching this area. These combined experiences have resulted in my having a certain degree of knowledge into how the music industry works, who the main figures are, contacts for a large number of musicians and managers. Furthermore I am comfortable talking with musicians and have musicians as personal friends.

I believe that the above places me in a useful position from which to conduct a study into musicians. First my experiences and contacts within the music industry allow me to gain access to musicians who otherwise would be very difficult to interview. Second, my experiences give me a unique insider-outsider status which is worth reflecting upon. As a non-musician I cannot claim to be a 'cat' (Morris the 'cat' Holbrook never had such a problem see Holbrook, 1992), however my experiences within the music industry does not entirely make me an outsider either. Having conducted the studies, I believe that on the whole I was taken as trust-worthy by musicians (deemed to be highly important by Cottrell, 2004). Frequently this privilege was something that had to be gained and pre-interview chats as well as certain questions framed during the interview were done with the intention of proving to the musician that I had insider knowledge and hence could be addressed as a peer. Whilst not in all cases, on the whole I believe I gained acceptance from the musicians interviewed in this way. On the other hand as a non-musician (an outsider) I believe that I was able to bring a certain degree of critical awareness and intent that a musician-cum-researcher might have lacked and to this end, my work can be contrasted with the selected studies outlined above.

5.5.2 Purposive Sampling

A purposive sampling approach was taken which, according to Mason (2002), refers to selecting groups or categories to study on the basis of their relevance to one's research questions as well as one's theoretical position and analytical framework. Following Cottrell (2004), professional musicians were sought irrespective of what style of music they tended to specialise in. Whilst Kubacki and Croft (2004) focussed on both jazz and classical musicians, they reflected that this focus eliminated many important opinions and attitudes which might have been delivered by respondents playing different styles and coming from more diverse environments (pp584). Furthermore this research orientation follows Adorno's (2002a) criticism of music styles as leading to a fetishisation of stylistic production and also a fetishisation of the difference between what is understood to be 'high art' and 'low art'. Finally this orientation allows us to follow Shepherd's (1987) call for research that asks the same methodological questions to all forms, styles and genres of music.

The musical genres and professions include jazz, folk, Irish traditional, film composers, theatre pit musicians, session musicians, heavy metal, electronic, pop, rock and gypsy. As such a cross-section was achieved which focussed on the musical tradition that the musicians are engaged in and remained unconcerned with other the musicians tended to reside in Ireland but included musicians from the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Table 12 contains a brief description and introduction to the musicians interviewed. For more information, a short biography of each musician is included in Appendix 1. As Appendix 1 shows, many of the musicians have experience of working

all over the world which means that the sample ought not to be considered as a parochial one.

Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh	Young Irish traditional singer and whistle player, she recently became lead singer with the group Danú who are signed to an international record label. The group have received international awards and have toured world-wide. www.danu.net
Rossa Ó Snodaigh	Performer and composer with folk rock ensemble Kíla who have an international profile and have recorded numerous albums www.kila.ie
Hugh Buckley	Jazz guitar player who has released two solo albums and has played across the world www.hughbuckley.com
Mick Moloney	Extremely experienced musician who has worked professionally in Ireland, England and the USA. Has recorded with numerous renowned groups, recorded solo albums and currently works as a producer and ethnomusicologist. He is the second person to hold the position of Global Distinguished Visiting Professor at the New York University, in which he has succeeded Adorno. www.mickmoloney.com
Patrick Collins	Jazz and gypsy-style violin player who has worked professionally in Ireland, France and England. Has recorded on numerous albums and now plays with the group the Café Orchestra who perform mostly corporate concerts. www.cafeorchestra.com
Christy Moore	Hugely famous and experienced popular folk singer-songwriter in Ireland who has played all over the world and released a large number of albums, both as a member of numerous groups and solo. www.christymoore.com
Greg Boland	Guitar player and record producer who has played with numerous groups (including the cult group Scullion) and campaigns for musicians' rights in the Musicians Union of Ireland www.gregboland.net
Michael McKeegan	Bass guitar player with the hard rock group from Northern Ireland, Therapy? Therapy? have an international profile and regularly tour the major heavy metal festivals. During the early 1990s they succeeded in gaining a number of hits and enjoyed a spell of relative fame. http://www.therapyquestionmark.co.uk/
Shaun Davey	Film and theatre composer of international profile who has previously worked as a jingle writer and composer for advertisements. www.shaundavey.com
Bill Whelan	Composer of the hugely successful *Riverdance* and highly experienced within the music industry. Also formerly a composer for advertisements. www.billwhelan.com
Thom Moore	Singer songwriter from the USA who has spent long periods living in Russia and Ireland. http://www.harp-thistle.com/thom/
Pierce Turner	Avant-garde rock musician who divides his time between living in New York and the Irish country side www.pierceturner.com
Kieran Goss	Singer-songwriter who manages his own consultancy group and independent record label for other musicians www.kierangoss.com
Martin Fay	Vastly experienced fiddle player who is a member of the very popular folk ensemble The Chieftains www.thechieftains.com
Gerard Whelan	Rock musician and lead singer with the group Jerry Fish and the Mudbug Club and formerly An Emotional Fish. Now manages his career and releases his albums independently www.jerry-fish.com
Paul Noonan	Lead singer with the popular rock group Bell X1 www.bellx1.com
Colm MacConlamaire	Violin player with alternative group The Frames who are highly popular in Ireland www.theframes.ie
Donal Lunny	Vastly experienced musician, composer and producer who is now resident in Japan http://www.emi-premier.co.uk/commonground/mi/donal/donal.html
Karl Ronan	Session musician trombone player who is internationally sought after http://homepage.eircom.net/~browne/kronan.html
Adam Dorn	Hugely experienced composer, bass guitar player and electronic musician who trades under the name Mocean Worker www.moceanworker.com
Robbie Harris	Session musician bodhrán player with international experience

Table 12 Picture Profiles of Musicians Interviewed

According to Rubin & Rubin (pp66) there are three important criteria to be satisfied in purposive sampling:

1. The respondents should be knowledgeable about the cultural arena or the situation or experience being studied
2. They should be willing to talk
3. When people in the arena have different perspectives, the interviewees should represent the range of points of view (pp66)

It is argued that the targeted sample satisfies the three criteria. Experienced musicians were selected who were in a position to discuss the situation being studied, in this case it meant focussing on musicians who have experienced the commodification of their music. In almost all cases, the musicians had experience of being approached by advertisers wishing to use their music for advertisements meaning that the musicians were speaking from positions of experience. It is argued that this lived experience adds considerable depth to their opinions. As a cross-section of musicians was targeted, this had the effect of representing the broad range of points of view. As the data illustrates, there is a wide level of disagreement amongst musicians showing that a very extensive range of positions are presented. Therefore, the purposive sampling focussed on gaining a cross-section of professional musicians from a variety of musical traditions and was not concerned with achieving a cross-section in other domains such as class, musical education, sex, race or religion. These functions were allowed to naturally emerge through the process of networked interviewing (explained in section 5.5.4.1).

Regarding the willingness of the respondents to interview, as is further explored in the following section on access, it was not always possible to interview all the musicians who were sought mainly for logistical reasons, however, due to the large number of

respondents interviewed and the dedication of the researcher to getting interviews through often unorthodox manners (also outlined in the following section), the difficulties of accessing musicians did not jeopardise the project.

In line with an interactionist approach, the research does not seek to generalise the broad population but instead seeks to create an emergent design in which there is no rule for sample size. This is opposed to other approaches to sampling whereby the researcher seeks to create a sample that is big enough to be statistically representative of a total population. Instead the objective was to "bottom out" on the phenomenon; "continuing to research the topic until each subsequent interview provides no new dimensions on the phenomenon" (Sherlock, 1999:pp104), or also to interview to saturation, defined by Charmaz as where "new data fit into the categories already devised" (2000:pp520).

5.5.3 Defining Professional Musicians

A further problematic arises here in the definition of a professional musician. As Cottrell (2004) shows, simply making the distinction between the professional who is paid for his or her work and the amateur who is not, does not account for the degree of ambiguity that can exist. For example, many musicians go through lull phases where their income is reduced and are forced to temporarily take work in other domains or indeed a large amount of musicians also teach music. Should we therefore regard musicians who receive a full-time salary as a musical educator, for example, as a non-professional musician? Merriam (1964) suggests that 'professionalism seems to run along a continuum from payment in occasional gifts at one end to complete economic support through music at

the other' (pp125). Drawing from this Cottrell (2004) suggests that musicians can be located within the amateur/professional continuum at different points, times and contexts of their lives and he provides the example of musicians who have recently qualified from their musical training and enter a period of trying to take up as much work as possible as a musician but have not yet arrived at a situation where they receive a full income.

Therefore for the benefit of this thesis, a professional musician is taken to be a person whose primary occupation is the production of music. Whilst the majority of musicians interviewed do rely on music as the sole source of their income, other musicians also received alternative forms of income. A decision was made to take a wider definition of professionalism that allows for musicians to be at separate points of a continuum provided that it is consistent with a career based in music. For example, one musician interviewed Mick Moloney, is a Professor of Ethnomusicology. Given that his area of teaching is music specific, he continues to perform music and produce albums with professionals and that he has three decades of experience as a full-time musician, he falls under the definition. Another example is Hugh Buckley who in his part-time provides guitar lessons for children. Also a problem with defining the professional musician is the amount of non-music related activities associated with musical production. For example, as the data goes on to show, many musicians are becoming increasingly occupied by administrative tasks and duties. However as these activities are shown to be endemic to musical production, they fall under the definition taken for this research and therefore qualify.

5.5.4 Access

A defining part of the research collection was that of access which refers to both the process of gaining physical access to the targeted sample and also to the situation where a research participant is willing to share data with the researcher (Saunders et al., 2003). As Robinson *et al* noted (1991), musicians are a notoriously difficult group to study systematically and this was due to the difficulties of accessing famous musicians, finding a list of who the professional musicians are in a community and finally locating them. In this context it is useful to consider musicians as elites. Following Zuckerman's (2003) research into Nobel Laureates, we can consider musicians as elites because it is generally true that musicians carry a large degree of public influence (for example see Street, 2002) and they are often held in high esteem and public visibility. This presents certain challenges and opportunities for the interviewer and these are outlined in the following section.

5.5.4.1 Networked Interviewing

In seeking access to musicians as elites, I arrived at a similar conclusion to Ostrander (2003), namely that the difficulties of gaining access to elites have been exaggerated and can be eliminated by a well thought out strategy as well as certain prior knowledge and this, as Ostrander noted, includes 'using your own circles and activities to put you in touch with subjects' (pp390). As already noted, my experiences in working in the music industry allowed me to build a database of musicians who could be called upon and this prior knowledge proved to be extremely useful. In terms of gauging who the professionals are, the *Hot Press Yearbook 2003* was very useful as it contained a

directory of musicians as well as other people who work in the music industry such as managers.

Musician respondents were sought in a variety of ways and this included calling musicians whom I already knew or asking for a list of contacts from former music industry colleagues and also asking musicians who I knew for contact details and introductions to other musicians. This process of seeking to expand the data respondent pool by asking respondents to recommend other people that they know or indeed interviewing along a social network is called 'networked interviewing' (Rubins & Rubins, pp68) or 'cumulative interviewing' (Zuckerman, 2003:pp380), and was proposed by Rubin & Rubin (1995) as a very useful means of gaining access to otherwise difficult-to-access research groups. From a practical point of view, being able to tell musicians that I had already interviewed certain well-known musicians added credibility to my research and made certain musicians more willing to engage in interviews. For example, one famous musician Christy Moore, said that the only reason he agreed to the interview was because he had seen that I had already interviewed the cult-figure Mick Moloney and had become curious. Similarly Ostrander (2003) found this approach of 'starting from the top' to be essential in gaining access to elites. A further advantage was noted by Zuckerman (2003), who commented that the cumulative interviewing approach, resulted in respondents being aware that questions were being asked which must have been based on remarks made by other respondents. This, she found, can motivate respondents to report events in sufficient detail so that the record would be complete.

However as Rubin & Rubin (1995) warn, one danger inherent in networked interviewing is that the first person encountered in the network may colour the responses of latter interviewees. Similarly the opinions shared within a particular social network may not represent the wider range of opinions within the overall musician community. For this reason special effort was taken to approach musicians from a number of different social networks and this meant calling people 'out of the blue'. The *Hot Press Yearbook* which contains the directory of musicians was very useful in this regard. Another more archaic though highly effective technique was that I waited outside a record label office until a certain musician arrived. I then introduced myself and the musician kindly agreed to do the interview and an arrangement was made. Indeed as Ostrander (2003) concluded, in gaining access to elites 'luck and willingness to take advantage of opportunities as they arise have proven just as valuable' as systematic approaches (pp390).

5.5.4.2 Access and Luck

Luck, of course, can run two ways and in many cases musicians proved to be extremely difficult to track down. Where it was possible to get personal telephone numbers of musicians, it was not always possible to arrange a time for an interview that would fit within their schedule. In a number of cases a lot of time was lost trying to arrange interviews with musicians who proved to be elusive. The most prominent of these musicians was Billy Bragg who, after extensive dealings with his management, was not in his London hotel room at the appointed time for the interview. As the research was conducted during summer time, many musicians were touring and as a consequence,

interviews never took place with a number of musicians who had agreed to do so owing to the difficulties of organising an interview within their time frame.

At other times the process was more fortuitous, for example, over the course of the research, an advertisement appeared in the magazine *Hot Press* calling on musicians to participate in the formation of a new Musicians' Union of Ireland. Recognising that this could be a very useful place to recruit interviewees, I contacted the organisers, received permission to attend and observe. Under bizarre circumstances which I still do not fully comprehend, I was suddenly called upon to address the entire meeting. Not quite sure what I ought to have said or how I could contribute to the discourse, I described my own research and called upon the musicians to participate. The chair then agreed that musicians *should* co-operate with me and this proved to be a very valuable endorsement. Following this, part of the data deals with the emergence of the Musicians' Union of Ireland.

5.5.5 Form of Interviews

Owing to difficulties of access, the locations of the interviews varied from the musicians' homes, university facilities, parks, bars, cafes, hotel lobbies, recording studios, and telephone interviews. Interviews were recorded onto MiniDisc and then later transcribed in full. This led to a superior sound quality which, as well as aiding better transcription, as speech was more audible than in dictaphone recorders, also made possible the editing of the data for an audio presentation which formed the basis of a multimedia presentation which is currently under review for publication. The advantages of complete accuracy

allowed for by high quality audio recordings are obvious. In the case of the telephone interviews (in which there were four; Adam Dorn, Christy Moore, Colm MacConlamaire, Bill Whelan) Ibsen & Ballweg (2003) argue that unless the researcher is specifically interested in non-verbal communication such as hand gestures, there is no reason why telephone interviews should not be considered as a legitimate form of interviewing. In fact they argue that the telephone can be seen as especially valuable in certain circumstances and given the problematics of accessing musicians, the telephone interviews (which were also recorded to MiniDisc) were taken as a legitimate form of interview which allowed certain musicians to be interviewed whom otherwise would have been unavailable.

Following the research of Zuckerman (2003), every interview was preceded by intensive and detailed investigation of biographical data drawn from documentary sources such as a subscription to the online magazine *Hot Press* (see www.hotpress.com), and availing of its very useful search engines and also by consulting with people who knew biographical details about the musicians. Another source of information for each interview was information gained during prior interviews with other musicians. This information was used to develop specific lines of questioning and enabled the interviewer to ask questions about specific relevant experiences that the musicians had over the course of their careers.

In terms of the research reflexivity outlined earlier, this pre-interview research held certain functions for the interview; as Zuckerman (2003) noted pre-interview research

provides: evidence of the seriousness of the interviewer; it helped to legitimise for the elite subject expenditure of time on the interview; questions based on materials gathered in preparation often called forth responses that would otherwise not have been elicited; elite respondents sometimes test the interviewer to determine the extent of her knowledge enabling them to identify the appropriate level on which to answer the questions; and finally pre-interview research reinforced elite interviewee sense that the interviewer was not totally ignorant of some aspects of the world in which they lived. Zuckerman also found that ultra-elites continuously evaluate the performance of the interviewer (indeed just as in Zuckerman's study, a number of musicians commented on what they thought of the interviewer and the interview).

It is not surprising, therefore, that Ostrander (2003) concluded that interviewing elites can at times be an intimidating experience. This is because, she wrote, elites are used to being in charge and having others deferring to them; 'they are used to being asked what they think and having what they think matter in other people's lives' (pp397). The challenge then for the non-elite interviewer is not to be reverential and Ostrander goes on to list a number of Mussolini-style techniques designed to undermine the supposedly egotistical and domineering elite interviewee whilst firmly placing the rhetorical advantage with the interviewer. However as noted in the introduction to the researcher, I consider myself to be in an 'insider-outsider' situation who is comfortable with talking to musicians and therefore not naturally deferential to the interviewee. I did not consider myself to have been intimidated by the musicians during this study.

All interviews were medium length lasting on average one hour and yielding wide-ranging conversations. Just as in Kubacki & Croft (2004), a number of questions were designed in advance (included in the Appendix II) in order to direct the discussion and to obtain opinions about particular phenomena. However after conducting numerous interviews, my confidence had grown to the stage where these questions were no longer needed and were not used in the latter interviews. Indeed as Rubin & Rubin (1995) noted, conducting qualitative research and being able to truly hear what people are saying requires significant practice. As a researcher I was able to draw upon interview skills gained in previous projects, but over the course of the interviews my hearing capability gradually improved as I both became more comfortable in building a rapport and also more familiar with the answers I was receiving, and therefore, able to more quickly understand what was being said. In this way as the research progressed the interviews becoming far less structured. Where in the beginning there was a greater reliance on specific questions as the driver of the interview, by the end the musicians were given a much freer role to discuss the topic in their own words. In turn the quality of the interviews improved as they became less structured and this can be partly attributed to my own improvement as a researcher but also, just as Zuckerman (2003) noted with her interviews of Nobel laureates, elites are accustomed to being treated as individuals who have a mind of their own and soon detect whether questions are standardised or tailored to their interests and histories and resent the straight-jacket of standardised questions.

On the whole, however I found that musicians proved to be an excellent group for research and this can be explained by certain specific characteristics of musicians. For

example where Bucher *et al* (2003) noted that the presence of tape recorders often made respondents uneasy or more cautious in their responses and can provoke anxieties and inarticulateness, musicians proved to have no such qualms regarding the presence of recording technologies. This can be accredited to the fact that the media take a heightened interest in the careers of musicians, they become familiar with the interview setting and accustomed to having their remarks (not to mention their music) recorded. Similarly Becker (2003) warned that numerous occupational communities could be uneasy with conducting interviews because certain institutions feel that they 'have a good deal to hide from what they regard as a prying, misunderstanding, and potentially dangerous public' (pp45). He noted that research within organisations can often result in the researchers encountering political disputes and the researcher commences to walk on metaphorical eggshells replete with many ethical problems. To get around these problems Becker (2003) suggested a series of 'tactical' solutions which the interviewer could employ. Musicians, however, tended not to have sensitive issues which they wished to conceal from the public and as solo agents, professional politics was far less of an issue resulting in no need for interviewee anonymity (except in a specific instance where it was requested). It was made clear to all musicians that their real names would be used unless they requested otherwise.

5.5.6 Data Analysis

Having conducted the interviews, the next stage was to code the data with a view to the development of data themes. Baker (2003) defines this process of coding as the procedure for classifying data to make it amenable to subsequent analysis (pp297) or for Bryman

(2001) it is a process of recognising certain portions of transcripts as belonging to certain names or labels. Coffey & Atkinson (1996) define data coding as a process of organising, managing and retrieving the most meaningful bits of the data. Alternatively, Bryman (2001) described it more succintly, qualitative data analysis is the process of confronting the data for the first time and asking 'what do I do with it now?' (pp388).

As distinct from the analysis of quantitative data, one might argue that the process of codification in analysing qualitative data has not reached the same level of analytic procedures. Baker (2003) states that in qualitative analysis our "interpretation of the 'facts' or 'reality' is a product of our beliefs, experiences and knowledge, all of which are the product of our backgrounds and upbringing" (pp291), therefore the process of coding and data interpretation will necessarily reflect the researcher's world view. Once again this underscores the importance of the reflexive researcher and the consequential 'introduction of the researcher' (see sections 5.5 and 5.5.1).

The first stage of this process of data organisation is for the researcher to become familiar with the data. For Mason (2002) this is a period of reflection where the researcher reads, studies, listens and thinks about the data. Indeed having conducted the interviews and personally transcribed them, I regularly listened to the recordings whilst working and driving until I could almost recite entire passages, such was the level of familiarity. For Bryman (2001) this is a very informal process, the researcher doesn't take notes or consider interpretations except in a very general way and this process should be repeated over and over.

The next stage is turning the data into fragments. This thesis has followed what Atkinson & Coffey (1996) regard to be the most sophisticated form of analysis. This form is marked by moving away from a simple association with what the respondent says and towards a concern with broad analytic themes. According to Bryman (2001) this process can often be quite archaic, for example, researchers sometimes use scissors to cut data chunks out of the transcript and then place them in relevant theme boxes, or others code data with different colour highlighting pens. In response to this a series of computer software packages, or to use the jargon, CAQDAS (Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) such as Ethnograph, NUD*IST and Atlas/it have been developed which allow users to perform these tasks (Bryman, 2001). NUD*IST (Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising) and its more modern version QSR NUD*IST Vivo (or as it is often called NVivo) is a computer software which is increasingly used to assist qualitative researchers. In short the computer takes over the physical task of writing marginal codes, making photocopies of transcripts or field notes, cutting out all chunks of text relating to a code and pasting them together (pp406). Of course the analyst must still interpret the data, code it and then retrieve the data but the computer takes over the manual labour involved, making the loyal scissors redundant in the process.

As Prothero (2001) noted, whilst the systematic process of segmenting and sorting data offered by NUD*IST is very advantageous for researchers, the use of NUD*IST carries a number of distinct disadvantages; namely it can limit the degree of creative potential for

analysing data as the 'machine takes over' and leads to an analysis which favours data that appears most frequently. Buston (1997) note the discomfort amongst researchers that the extensive use CAQDAS may be fostering an undesirable convergence towards a unitary ideal-type of data collection, storage and analysis and also, ironically given the nature of this research, that this can result in a sense of researcher alienation from their data.

As an alternative Stanley & Temple (1995) observe that most of the coding and retrieval features that someone is likely to need in the course of conducting qualitative data analysis are achievable through ordinary word processing programmes. In fact where appropriate, it is suggested that this is the preferable approach because the same systematic approach to coding and retrieving data can be used without the researcher having to incur the expense of acquiring CAQDAS and then the time in familiarising themselves with complex programmes. Following this recommendation, Microsoft Word was the tool selected for the managing and retrieving of data in the present study. Given that the overall amount of data (22 interview transcriptions) was, relatively speaking, not a huge data set, a systematic process of theme building based on the NUD*IST approach but completed manually was undertaken.

Using a system of copying and pasting, the data were divided into a total of thirty-one themes or labels which addressed a wide range of issues. Examples of these themes are 'status of musicians in society', 'musicians as artists' and 'musician integrity'. These themes were then interrogated and collapsed into three overarching themes; 'x versus y',

'alienation' and 'taking responsibility'. A further theme which dealt with the issue of licensing for advertising was included as an umbrella theme which shows all of the previous three themes in action in a single phenomenon. Having decided what the three central themes were plus the 'music in advertising' theme through a process of reflection and interpretation, the 31 themes were then collapsed into these central themes (see Figure 17). It is within these four major themes that the data analysis takes place, as is presented in the following chapter.

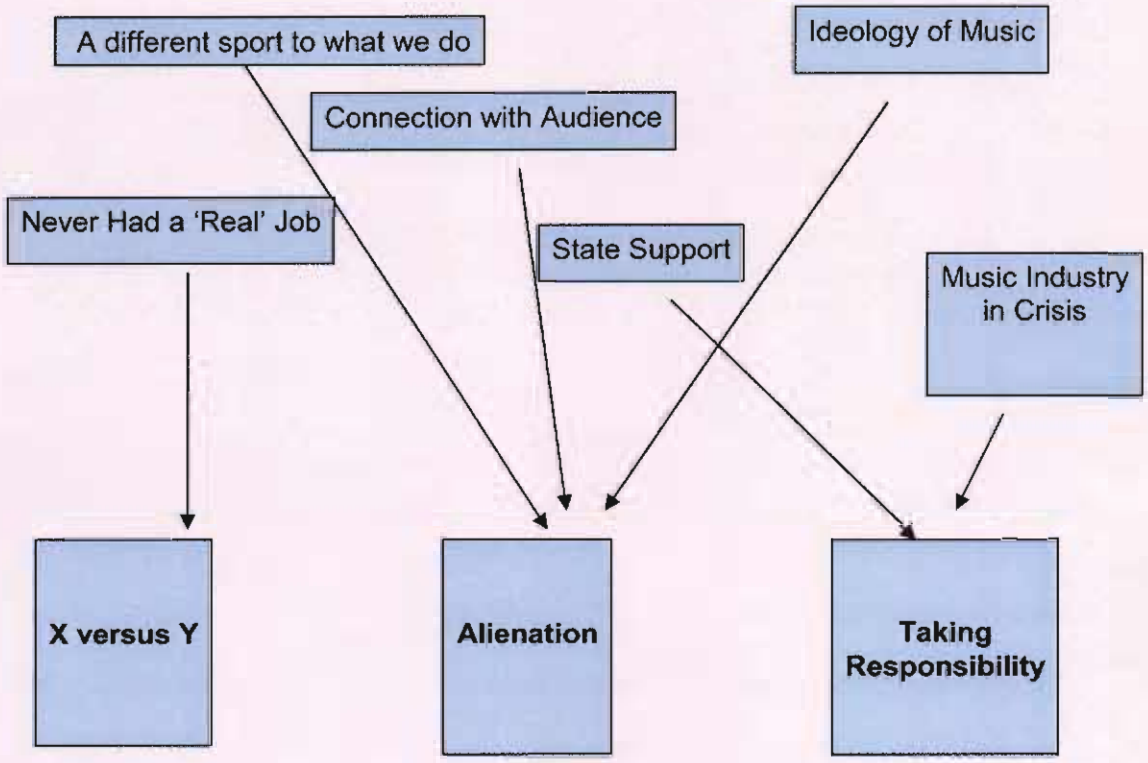

Figure 17 Collapsing the Themes

5.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter the research methodology and interactionist framework were introduced. First an introduction to interactionism was presented which included descriptions of the

main theoretical and empirical contributions in the tradition. Interactionism's evolution into Symbolic Interactionism was discussed and the earlier research was reviewed through an interactionist framework.

Following this the research framework was introduced. This included locating the current research orientation within a 'conversation' of literature. Next the thesis research design was presented which included an introduction to the researcher, an explanation of the purposive sampling method, a discussion of defining a professional musician, the challenges of accessing musicians was considered, the form of interviews described and finally a review of the process of data analysis was included.

Having addressed at length the process through which the interviews were conducted and the data analysed, it is now time to present the findings and interpretations of the data itself.

Chapter 6 Data Analysis

6.1 Introduction

Before the data analysis, the interviews were all transcribed by the author. Following this the research was divided into a total of thirty-one themes. As discussed previously (see section 5.5.6), these themes were then interrogated and collapsed into three overarching themes; 'x versus y', 'alienation' and 'taking responsibility'. A further theme which dealt with the issue of licensing for advertising was included as an umbrella theme which shows all of the previous three themes in action in a single phenomenon.

6.2 Theme 1 X v Y

Chapter four has illustrated how the myth of artist as heroic y character has engaged with the dreaded mythical reified and evil x character. This theme explores how these myths emerged in shaping the musicians' self-conception.

6.2.1 Perception of the Other and the 'Real World'

In section 3.5 it was investigated how the theme 'x versus y' type individuals permeated the production and administration of cultural domains. The data presented here shows how this understanding is very real for musicians in terms of how they understand their own lives and careers as musicians. How they understood their own lifestyle was relative to how they would imagine themselves functioning in the conventional world; which we can conceptualise as the domain of theory-x. Below are some examples:

> I don't think I'd be good at working for someone else or taking orders or having to be somewhere at nine o'clock every morning and dealing with the traffic situation and commuting and all that, I'm just not that sort of individual, y'know. I recognise that some people actually enjoy that and prosper in it but I don't think that I would. *(Patrick Collins)*

> I wanted to get away from the mundane, middle-class that I was entering into and I wanted to be a nomadic singer and indeed I was a nomadic singer for many, many years. *(Christy Moore)*

> I've had jobs and I've done some miserable jobs, I've worked a lot but never clocked in, never used the factory clock, never appealed to me at all and I would despair at the thought of it, y'know. *(Gerard Whelan)*

> I knew I didn't want to become, say, a bureaucrat or my degree was here in economics and I like economics as a subject but I could never have seen myself take up that narrow career. *(Mick Moloney)*

> The commercial world out there is wild isn't it, I mean just the, yeah, I'm not really into all this man-eat-man sort of way of living. *(Hugh Buckley)*

In this way the world of theory-y is seen as structured around anti-creative discipline and routine and this, it is implied, is the opposite of who the musicians see themselves as. This can be regarded as reinforcing the bohemian ideology and illustrates how this ideology continues to attach itself to musicians' sense of self which is as much rooted in their dedication to their own music-making as it is to the bohemian sense of withdrawal from bourgeois and materialist values. As is further demonstrated, the sense of the other can result in a real contempt for the theory-x way of life:

> They're like fucking abattoirs today, banks, they really are, they're rough places now... It sucks! Ha ha ha. It will be the end of the world. Business will end the world, of that there is no doubt. *(Christy Moore)*

> We have basically swapped our time for the commercial world. The commercial is, y'know, you should have a car, you should have a mobile phone, you should have a supersonic television with quadraphonic sound, y'know, its just all about material goods, the modern world that we're living in. So therefore the idea is that you should work six to seven days a week so you can pay someone to clean your house and someone to mind your children because you haven't time to mind

> your children, ha, ha, and you haven't time to clean your house. There's no time, I think that it's a very unhealthy environment. I think that Friday night, I think Saturdays and Sundays should be, like if you live, if you work a traditional job, I think you should have Saturday and Sunday off and I think you should have a full lunch hour everyday, you should work nine-to-five or eight-to-four, y'know, and go home in the evening and just be something else, not be consumed by your job. *(Pierce Turner)*

In this way we can also see musicians as engaged in a search for deeper meaning or a more transcendent way of life. This manifested itself in a great sense of value in their work as musician and a great sense of privilege for having the opportunity to live this alternative theory-y lifestyle:

> There were some great times and we learnt a lot and it was a very enriching thing to do, y'know, to play music with whomever. I've always found that. It's been a privilege to do this as a living. Some say I've never worked a day in my life, but I've always managed to make my playing music my living so you can forget what a privilege that is at times. *(Paul Noonan)*

> When I hear bands complaining that the beer isn't cold enough, I think 'right ok, how many people do you know at work have beer, warm or cold? How many people get to travel around the world, there's people glad to see ye, your hotel is booked for you, y'know, you do your gig, there's people, hopefully, who appreciate the music you've created?' *(Michael McKeegan)*

> I'm actually quite privileged to be able to play the violin for a living. I certainly like what I'm doing, there are people out there that are doing something they hate for forty years, y'know. *(Patrick Collins)*

An outcome of this is that musicians sometimes felt, partly as a basis of how others perceived them, as not occupying the 'real world' or having a 'real job'; as Paul Noonan said above 'some say I've never worked a day in my life':

> So the fact that creatively, in my estimation anyway, we've been making better records all the time has kinda sustained me, or nourished me through it and if that hadn't been the case, I definitely would have – it's not exactly a financially stable situation, or it usen't to be, y'know – so if it wasn't for that, yeah, absolutely, I'd get a real job, as they say, ha, ha. *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

> To me a proper job is being a nurse, being a doctor, you know what I mean, going out and doing something constructive and being helpful. But then there is an element of being sort of if someone's had a shit day and they come to one of our gigs and it totally lifts them. I think that's a brilliant thing to be able to do in any walk of life, y'know, whether you are a musician or an actor or an artist or a street entertainer or it doesn't really matter whether you've made a record or anything but its not proper in that I don't go down the mine for 12 hours a day.
>
> *(Michael McKeegan)*

> People say to you, y'know, you're not living in the real world sometimes, y'know, but eh, sometimes I think maybe I am and they aren't, y'know, ha ha ha!
>
> *(Hugh Buckley)*

The important conclusion to draw from this section is the large sense of disconnection that musicians feel from the rest of society. Again this is very much typical of Becker's 'cats' versus 'squares' (see section 3.4.5).

For certain musicians this lifestyle of indiscipline, at least one that is perceived by others as being so, can result in a lack of respect for their musical work and consequently in their exploitation. This is an example of how people draw conclusions from people's occupations as well as how society constructs an idea of what constitutes 'work'. For the Musicians' Union of Ireland that was created during this research, part of their approach was to challenge that dominant perception of what 'work' is:

> That a musicians' union can respect and receive the same recognition as people in any other walk of life. It is down to rights and human dignity and because music is very often in entertainment, it seems that it's less important than somebody who puts up a door in your house or something like that. Music is kind of ephemeral and I mean, it's a sort of a really old joke where you're talking to somebody and you say that you are a musician and they say 'well, do you work as well?' or 'have you got a real job?' and its an unconscious view that a lot of people have that playing music is literally *playing,* you don't play music, you work music, so its not a serious occupation. I remember my parents were really worried when

> they realised that I was going down the road of becoming involved in music and that's where I was going to make my living, it was 'my God, have you nothing to fall back on? y'know. Their views may be grounded over the next ten or fifteen years if I become unable to play music or whatever that I don't have a pension but I think that musicians absolutely do deserve to be treated with the same respect as everybody else. *(Donal Lunny)*

> We found that we could almost not afford to live in this country anymore. It seemed unless something was done about, it's a strong word but abused, their services were being abused and we wanted to not only raise, get better working conditions and pay rates, for every musician in the country, not just Dublin, but also increase the profile of the musician in Dublin. So instead of going into a wedding and maybe bumping into a member of the band and saying 'oh he's just with the band', y'know, 'over there, come in by the kitchen lads', y'know, 'stay over there out of the way', that we want to raise the profile of musicians so that if somebody sees a musician coming in the door, well they will realise, 'well here is a highly skilled guy and the only reason why he is here is to entertain me because he is qualified to entertain me'. That's what we want to do, the whole idea is to raise the profile of musicianship, to get better working conditions and pay rates, they're almost a side line, just everyone, a small group of us that just do gigs just got together because we are tired of being treated like shit to be honest, not being listened to, not having any new rates negotiated for us, being told what we are being paid. *(Karl Ronan)*

> What we want to do is to change the perception of the musician and basically to legitimise the notion that being a musician is a totally valid and legitimate career to have and that it is an important thing, and that it's not some, y'know, waster activity because it's important. *(Greg Boland)*

Through this data we can see a dialectic at work in that one defines his identity against the other. In this sense we can begin to see the Meadian triad (see section 5.2) at work in that the musicians' self-identity is negotiated between the self and society. In other words the theory-y lifestyle is very much a reaction against conventional life rather than being an autonomous way of life – it needs its opposite in order to function. The Musicians' Union's attempt to legitimise their career suggests a degree of upward mobility amongst musicians. It also suggests a certain irony; on the one hand they seek to distance

themselves from what they regard as the reified minutia of the theory-x employee and take great satisfaction from this alternative lifestyle. Yet they also wish to benefit from the advantages, respect and material benefits associated with successful theory-x employees.

6.2.2 Abdication from Administrative Duties

As the previous section illustrates, musicians often identify themselves against the theory-x other who engages in administrative work. However as musicians start to commodify their music, they often must concern themselves with administrative tasks. Again this creates a certain irony for musicians as it problematises their theory-y self-conception. The following section considers how the bohemian and theory-y conception sometimes filters into how musicians approach administrative and apparently non-creative work:

> I don't actually self-manage. I'm managed by Moby's manager so a lot of the administrative and the pitching and the, uh, the minutia, I don't want to disrespect it by calling it the minutia, but the non-creative side of handling publishing is not handled by me at all and never has been, and I think if it was handled by me, I would lose my mind, ha ha. I know I would. *(Adam Dorn)*

> As artists, you don't want to get too aware of the nasty CD machinations of how to get things played on the radio, y'know. I think in ways the less you know, and as naïve as it sounds, I think when you become too aware of the mechanisms of this business, and it is a business, it can get too, it can dull your kind of creative sensibilities a bit. *(Paul Noonan)*

> There have been times when you want to divorce your music making from your money making, definitely. **I mean there's never** been a time when I didn't want to be a musician but there **have been times when** I really didn't want to part of the music business which is a different thing then music itself. *(Greg Boland)*

In this conception the lure of theory-x work is something that musicians feel they must protect themselves from, as though it would undermine their musician identity and their ability to make music. An important element here is that of 'headspace' whereby the musicians conceive of creativity as belonging to a separate cognitive dimension as that which would be expended on administrative purposes. Residing too much in the administrative cognitive dimension, they argue, restricts the ability of the creative dimension to flourish. Musicians elaborate on this theme further:

> Well if you are trying to go inside a song, be it a gypsy song or a song you're trying to write, em, you got to be in a kinda space that is not in total reality, like it's, if I'm talking to you, if I spent two hours trying to cobble together a tour with you, I'm talking about fees and travelling and hotels and the nitty-gritty of putting a tour together and making sure it's done properly, it's impossible then to kind of put the phone down and pick up the guitar and start writing a song. It's just, it's a different headspace, one person is trying to be a poet and the other is trying to be an accountant and they're just two very different disciplines. *(Christy Moore)*

> I did the business side of things in working with bands and doing the royalty statements and y'know, placements and stuff and y'know, it's, it isn't really a creative thing. It's administrative and it has nothing to do with actually making the music and as much as I'd like to think that I can do a little bit of everything, I can't. I can't sit there on the phone with someone and haggle over the terms of usage for a piece of my music in, y'know, a commercial and the monies to be paid out and what splits to be made from the master side and the publishing side...If I did the administrative side, it would be another reality. I think it's, in certain ways, sort of exciting, sort of a challenge to make sure that you get all the rights sorted out for something that you own, y'know, but I wouldn't want to do that on a daily basis, it would take time away from the actual production of the music.
> *(Adam Dorn)*

> The one cautionary note that I would throw in there, the one that I wouldn't allow for is that you have to be careful that you don't get so absorbed into the business of music that you forget why you started being a musician in the first place and I didn't become a musician so I could start worrying about website sales or royalties from Germany or blah-de-blah. I became a songwriter because I wanted to write songs and I wanted to communicate with people in that way so you have to be careful not to put the cart before the horse and that you leave time and you leave headspace in order to write songs and to just, headspace so you can come up with ideas and let ideas grow in your head and that balance is, some days you have it right, other days you have it wrong, it depends. *(Kieran Goss)*

For many musicians, therefore, we can say there is a real desire to abdicate practical cognitive functions in order to reside in what they believe to be a more creative 'headspace'. In this way we can see how much within the domain of theory-y musicians reside as they conceptualise their work as being purely creative and necessarily separate from administrative tasks. Again this is an example of a rigid separation of theory-y from theory-x. Yet, as some experienced musicians have come to learn, this can be a dangerous game to play as it leaves the musician vulnerable to exploitation. Consider these examples starting with Donal Lunny who, looking back at his earlier career with a popular folk ensemble during the 1970s reflects on this very point:

> I would say that I made a choice, and maybe not a good one, many years ago, I think when I was with the Bothy Band. There were times when we were faced with decisions which would be made by management and we had to sort of look at them and decide and present them with a publishing contract or a record contract or whatever and I decided that I didn't want to immerse myself in, like, six hours of reading when all I wanted to do was play music and I think that my music flourished as a result but other things went wrong, y'know. I just decided that I didn't want to expend my energy on reading recording contracts and this sort of thing. And you know something? I've discovered since that a lot of record contracts are depending absolutely on that, that musicians run out of energy and say 'Oh for God's sake, I'll sign it, I just want to make my album, here you go', and they sign away all sorts of rights that were hidden in the small print and the record contracts, some of them are absolutely monstrous in what they, you are signing an agreement with somebody and a contract is a contract saying *yes*, you can own this for the rest of your life, *yes*, if anybody ever goes to Mars, you can sell it on Mars, *yes*, y'know. It's just kind of outrageous.
>
> *(Donal Lunny)*

> I mean like I said the whole idea of the business is such a predatory term really that preys on people who are talented and really haven't a clue about business.
>
> *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

> They used to give these seminars, y'know, organise these things going around the country and have speakers and one of the speakers was saying that he has never (seen), in any field across the world and in any industry across the world, the collective ignorance across the industry astounded him, from musicians. I mean they just wanted to play music and because they are stupid they get, eh, they get

> exploited and its, you really need to do a course in the music industry before you get involved, nobody wants to learn first of all about the music industry before they get into kinda doing so because it's a spontaneous act and you don't want to put all these other things in the way, y'know, I suppose its like learning how to bring up a child before you actually have sex. You're not going to do it, it's not like 'oh suddenly we're going to have a baby, right lets learn about having a baby', ha ha. Eh, no one learns about it beforehand, no one learns about contraceptives before they use them. *(Rossa ó Snodaigh)*

Therefore we can see that for musicians, their negotiated sense of self has real implications for lifestyle – the bohemian ideology, far more than just something that relates to their music making can inform their general behaviour as it relates to the organisation of their entire lives. The bohemian ideology, therefore, is something that musicians take very seriously indeed. Another important dimension in the above data is the extent of distrust that the musicians carry for music industry practitioners who are presented as predators, once again reinforcing the theory-x and theory-y dichotomy.

6.2.3 Embracing Administration

As illustrated above, abdicating from administrative labours can be a dangerous game as musicians perceive members of the music industry as using this situation to exploit the musicians; the mythical struggle between theory-x and theory-y. For other musicians, often as a result of experience or necessity, they are more willing to embrace administrative tasks. Interestingly we can see in the following two examples that where musicians have done so, they try to reconcile their activities within a creative philosophy. In this way rather than abdicate from bohemian identity, they try to justify their administrative tasks as carrying creative dimensions too. The first musician, Rossa Ó Snodaigh of the group Kíla (who release albums independently) tries to justify his

success at selling his band's CDs after concerts - an important source of income for many musicians - by reference to the philosophy of an Indian man he had seen on television. Just as the ability to play music is seen as a gift, Rossa also considers his aptitude for selling as a 'gift' too. Rather than separate cognitive functions, he argues that both the 'gift' for making music and the 'gift' for salesmanship belong to the same 'energy'. This viewpoint is broadly reproduced in the two subsequent pieces of data. It is important to note that all three of these musicians manage their own careers independently and therefore cannot rely on other people to perform these tasks for them.

> He was some Indian who lives in France, I think, and he sells Lottery cards by day and he plays Indian music at night and teaches as well. They asked him, what's the difference between, eh, y'know, does he not see it as odd that he's a musician and then during the day he's selling Lottery tickets, y'know, false hopes? He said 'no', he's not selling false hopes, people are actually, this Lottery helps disabled anyway, it helps, y'know people sell these lottery cards and we have booths in the middle of town and people come and buy. He said it's all the one energy, y'know, if you are doing it with the right intention well then it's not jarring, they don't go against each other. Which kind of, it really, because I'd be the one who deals with the merchandise after the gig, I sell the CDs and I actually found out that I was really good at it. Before I set it up as a stall I'd go around and basically force people into buying the CDs. If they weren't willing I'd go and get them to, y'know, get a couple of pounds off their mates and told them that it would last longer than beer; they'd only piss the beer out but they'd have this forever and, ha ha, that kind of thing. So I was on the hard sell and eh, yeah, I have an ability to sell that y'know the rest of the band aren't really that keen on doing. For whatever reason I was born with that gift. *(Rossa Ó Snodaigh)*

> I suppose my stand point is there is no native word, as in I'm quite interested in native American peoples and, eh, I've read quite a lot of anthropology of native people and there is no word for art and there is no word for money, y'know, they're all the same thing, it's all just what you do in your life, y'know... I've heard it said that perfection is the marriage of art and commerce, y'know. I don't divorce them, I think they're kind of, eh, there is no word for art, there is no word for commerce, you know, it's just what you do. *(Gerard Whelan)*

> One of the things that I discovered very early was that when I was a lawyer, I thought that only one side of me was being nurtured. There is a side to me that is quite academic and quite structured and disciplined, the part of me that made me a good lawyer but there's another part of me that's creative and musical and the

> problem, I found, was that the more I let that lie, the more it seemed wrong to me. I wanted instinctively to develop all the parts of me. And I pretended, I made that mistake that lots of musicians make of abdicating all the responsibility, y'know, 'Oh I am songwriter and a musician, so I need a manager and I need an agent and I need woo, woo', y'know. The reality that works for me is that when I'm all of those things, y'know, it's good for me as a person. And I was just playing this hippy kinda image of this, y'know, 'I'm a songwriter, y'know, somebody else take care of business' where the reality was that I was just playing a game. I knew rightly, I knew fine well exactly how to structure my career and my business and so now I'm happy. *(Kieran Goss)*

The attempts to explain their embracement of administrative tasks in such a creative way is argued to be an attempt to maintain a bohemian ideology whilst engaging in what would traditionally be seen as a non-bohemian domain, administration.

The theme of no division between money and art, as Gerard Whelan put it, exists for many musicians at more than a discourse, this conception was absolutely fundamental to their career. Some musicians have learnt that in order to achieve creative control, financial control of the project was necessary. Note in the following data how musicians talk about achieving creative control through financial control as something which they had to learn as part of a learning curve. This suggests that the theory-x and theory-y division is something that musicians are integrated into when they commence their career yet many move beyond as they become more experienced. They would like think of themselves as out-playing the system at its own game. Rather than falling into the trap of neglecting theory-x activities to their own detriment, they protect themselves from abuse by theory-x personnel by moving beyond their own prior (mis)conceptions. The following data comes from three musicians, all of whom have been signed to major record labels in the past and now release their own recordings independently.

I think that creatively things improved for us after we gained control, or regained control of our finances and, eh, business, y'know, because for so long that was out of our control and there was that imbalance so that eh, and, I mean Claire (the band's manager) is so efficient that we do have the freedom to know that that is being taken care of and that it is very much on a consultative level, y'know, em, everything is agreed and discussed so everybody is, from it being transparent and everybody knowing where we are at, it becomes far more clear so that less of your mind is taken up with business because you are being aware of what is happening so therefore it doesn't become a worry as before as regards 'what the fuck is happening?', y'know. Whereas before it always would have been the classic, I don't know if you've heard the analogy of the mushroom theory, where musicians, you just kind of keep them in the dark and feed them shit, basically. Ha, ha. *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

I now own my work and I own the publishing of my work and I don't know if you understand the rules but to own the actual record and to own the publishing of the tunes on the record are two separate things and when I had my deal with Palm, whereas I owned all my compositions, they owned the actual physical recordings so when situations came up where someone wanted to use the music, I only saw half of the money that I would normally see. So you can understand that now, without aggressively looking for a label and with the record that I might add isn't even finished, my record isn't even finished and I've done five or six major licensing deals and I keep all the money. Like, no label sees any of that money so I'm not paying back an advance, I'm not paying for, y'know, accountants to lie to me, you know what I mean? I own it. So when I do a car commercial I get everything and that's like, well why would I want a record deal with a company? I'll put this stuff out myself. All people need is a cover and some credits so why be partners with anyone ever again? Only to be basically lied to and, y'know, record labels are, they're there to make money for themselves, they're not there to make money for their artists, they pay you an advance and after you get that advance, boy, unless you sell a half million or a million records, you're not ever seeing money again. So why bother being in business with a label?

(Adam Dorn)

I'm certainly enjoying that whole aspect of financial control over my own destiny, definitely, because I think that financial control and artistic control are actually the same thing and I think I've learned that from being with a major label and seeing them spend all the money picking *their* producers, y'know the hit machines, and actually spending quite, em, I'm trying to search for the word, probably ludicrous is one word but I think quite obscene at times amount of money in your name and really it's your money because the record label, at the end of the day, is really a bank, y'know, and you're borrowing, *you're* borrowing but *they're* spending, you know what I mean so I suppose correcting that and keeping in control of budgets and all that. *(Gerard Whelan)*

At this stage we can see a process of becoming as musicians learn to take more control of the administrative duties. We can see how the musicians' identity is in a constant state of flux as they negotiate between artistic desires realised in the theory-x sensibility and also between commercial and practical realities associated with commodity production, as the following quotation nicely captures:

> Everything is in negotiation, *everything,* you know what I mean like, even with yourself. I negotiate with myself all the time, ha ha, you know what I mean?
> *(Adam Dorn)*

The following section illustrates how this negotiation operates.

6.2.4 A Balancing Act

At this point an irony is clear. On the one hand many musicians fear that focusing on administrative tasks takes away from their creative impetus whilst on the other hand they believe that administrative control is necessary in order to achieve creative control of a project. It is important to note that whilst within this analysis it is clearly possible to relate the theory-x versus theory-y dichotomy to the data, the extent to which the musicians see themselves within this duality is more complex and ironic. As this section goes on to illustrate, the discourses of synthesis between theory-x and theory-y more fairly reflects the condition of most musicians interviewed.

Whilst musicians may succeed in philosophically reconciling the two in their own mind – as was evidenced in the quotes from Rossa Ó Snodaigh, Gerard Whelan and Kieran Goss - how can this work in practice? If the musicians' self-identity is based upon a reaction to what they consider to be the reified other, how can that identity survive embracing

supposedly reified occupations? The answer to these questions, for those who achieve in reconciling the two, is manifested in a complex balancing act.

For the purpose of this section, two distinct forms of balancing act employed by musicians are considered:

- Balancing time and energy expended on creative and administrative tasks
- Balancing between artistic and commercial instincts when producing music

6.2.4.1 Balancing Time and Energy Expended on Creative and Administrative Tasks

This balancing act can take different forms depending on the work of the musician. For example if a musician is signed to a record label, time may be needed to deal with the different agents and layers of management. As Donal Lunny has shown above, musicians who ignore the work of their label do so at their peril as this can leave them open to exploitation. On the other hand, too much attention may take away from their supposed creative 'headspace'. The solution is in achieving a balance or synthesis between the two. Consider the following examples, first from Paul Noonan whose group is signed to a major record label and second, Kieran Goss who, as well as being a musician, also runs a consultancy group for other musicians. Despite the differences both musicians are, broadly speaking, engaged in achieving the same balance:

> With our record label it's a two way thing. Their job is to exploit our work and our job is to exploit what they should be doing and to be on the ball and to make sure that they're on the ball with that and, eh, I think within the band there is a healthy balance of those who will play hard ball and get on to the record company and we're not afraid to do that ourselves and while we have management and, y'know, it is good to have that buffer, but I've always wanted to have a personal relationship with those who are putting your music out and, eh, we've never tried to be stand-offish with the record label or with our agent or with our lawyer or

> whoever. Em, so but there are times when we are writing and we go away and put songs together for the record and just try not to have any contact with that world for a while, y'know. *(Paul Noonan)*
>
> Recently I've felt that too much business had sneaked into my life and that was in ways part of the price that I had to pay for being independent. In ways it was a price that I didn't really foresee for success. I just kept on taking on new territories so y'know when I started working in Germany and getting the album released and doing the promotion, all of a sudden more demands were made of you and then Holland kicked in and all of a sudden you've got them screaming at you 'Oh you've got to come and do this' and somewhere in the middle that balance that I used to have was lost so I just put my foot down and said 'this is the day's that I'm available' and even some of my agents were saying 'you're nuts', like, taking a year out when you've got momentum going up, and maybe I am but I know I'm doing the right thing and I just felt that I was too busy and that particularly as a songwriter, the one thing you need is headspace and running a business doesn't give you headspace and so I've just brought it all back low key again and then when the time's right I'll step it back up to the level of a few months ago if and when the time is right. The structure is there, I mean it's just a matter of not letting it run your life. I decide when I want to be busy and when I want to be, y'know, 'be still', as the Americans say, ha ha, so I've decided to be still for a while and just take it easy. *(Kieran Goss)*

Both musicians engage with their administrative tasks but that they both attempt to do so on their own terms. Both musicians stress that when they need to focus on their creative (theory-y) tasks, they will literally remove themselves from theory-x. Through this balance we can see that the musicians are attempting to take advantage of the opportunities presented to them by commercial opportunities but not to the extent that these administrative tasks dominate. Again a key issue here is that of who has control and we can see that this is primary amongst the concerns. In Kieran Goss's example, we can see how, in a very subtle way, he seemed to lose control of his own career through engaging too much in theory-x activities. Realising this, he radically and dramatically removed himself from these responsibilities and asserted to his management partners that future engagements would have to be on *his* terms. Of significance is this sense of drift,

of how without realising it the musician can indulge in theory-x duties to the detriment of theory-y therefore vigilance is constantly required that the musician does not go too far towards the theory-x extreme in the balancing act.

6.2.4.2 Balancing Between Artistic and Commercial Instincts When Producing Music

A more abstract way in which commercial instincts can affect a musicians' career is at the point of producing music. If musical production is understood to be the opposite of materialist theory-x work, it follows that producing music according to market demands would be alien to creative instinct, if not a 'sell-out' of artistic ideals (see section 2.5.3.1 for a discussion on 'sell-out'). Yet as professional musicians tend to produce within the commodity process, musical production is rarely, if at all, entirely divorced from commercial orientation. We can see from musicians that there is a balance to be achieved between their concerns of becoming a hack that produces creatively devoid music guaranteed to be accepted by the market and also producing music that will sustain their career in a market setting. In the following two examples the musicians are keen to stress that they do not allow commercial concerns to influence their music at the point of production:

> I think in the creation of art, its always a good idea to keep all those commercial considerations aside. I would never have got into that thing of writing songs for a particular market or write songs for a particular act. I write songs and if later they are used by another singer or another ad, well that's great. I'm glad it worked out but I think once you go into that world of mixing art and business at the point of creation, then you're, that's a bit dodgy to me, that's more like running a corporation to me and I wouldn't, that bit I wouldn't be into. But after that, certainly after I've written my songs and recorded them, I'm as focussed on the business side as I am on the artistic side of it and both are necessary.
>
> *(Kieran Goss)*

> I think that a lot of people get caught up in this peripheral stuff and I think sometimes when the monetary factor comes in, it can kind of, eh, it can kind of taint what you are doing and you have to be aware of it but you can't let it dictate, y'know. *(Michael McKeegan)*

Once again we can see the balancing act taking place and the great care that the musicians must take not to step too far into the theory-x world which, as Kieran Goss puts, is 'more like running a corporation' than being a creative artist. Producing music that would be intended for the market is seen as being immoral and impure ('a bit dodgy') and this is another example of bohemian ideology.

A useful elaboration of how this balance works in effect during music production is provided by Adam Dorn:

> Every time I sit down to write music, I'm thinking about writing something that's like, 'have I done this before?' like no it's something that's cool. I'm more excited if I sit down and sample a number of things, how can I make them work together? I'm still like a kid screwing around with pieces for a puzzle but then as I get about three quarters into arranging something and figuring out how this is shaping up, I then honestly have to answer, yeah, at that point I'm now thinking, y'know, 'ooh wait, this could end up being a certain kind of thing, how do I maximise that so I can, y'know, so I can make sure that this doesn't really, doesn't go the wrong way and I can still keep certain opportunities open to myself but at the same time, maintain, like, a really cool thing'. You know something that, if it never gets used for anything, well I still love this tune, I couldn't care less, you know what I mean? So most of the process is not steeped in wondering what's going to happen with the tune and then when you're at the point where you're starting to mix and you're about three quarters of the way through, you do start getting thoughts like 'oh shit, this might get used this way' and only because now with me I have two other albums that have a clear history of 'well this gets used this way', and wow! I can't deny that advertisers and film producers and TV producers do really love my music so I'm kinda, I don't want to disappoint, I don't want to disappoint the people who put the clothes on my back on a certain level. So I think that's being brutally honest and I would never say 'no, fuck that, I'm *so* artistic and, y'know, I never, I never think about anything it just comes out of me and then I'm finished and I never want to listen to it', that's bullshit.
>
> *(Adam Dorn)*

This can be regarded as a deviant piece of data as mostly musicians argued that their music was not commercially orientated. Possibly, given my friendship with Adam, he may have given a more truthful description – indeed he qualified his answer by stating 'so I think that's being brutally honest'. Could it be that the other musicians are being less honest and more concerned with presenting their bohemian credentials? As the other musicians are engaged in producing music that will be commercially sold, can we really believe them when they say: 'I would never have got into that thing of writing songs for a particular market', as Kieran Goss did? Whatever the truth of the situation is, it is suggested that these musicians must think of themselves in this way because, as noted in section 3.4.5, entering an occupation is partly about absorbing the shared values held by the wider occupational community, in this case bohemia. Therefore in order to become a musician, they must understand their career using a bohemian framework which is held by consensus to be at the core of what it is to be a musician. To accept that they produce commercially orientated music would destroy their bohemian credentials and therefore their sense of being a musician.

So how do we account for Adam's 'brutal honesty' beyond his friendship with the interviewer? Interestingly, just as Rossa Ó Snodaigh and Gerard Whelan sought to resolve their commercial and artistic nature through philosophic reference (i.e. the Indian vendor in Paris and the Native Americans), Adam justified his approach by reference to the jazz masters. A second example of the very same process is provided by Hugh Buckley who changed his conception of this problem having seen the jazz masters at work in New York:

> You know a really interesting side story to this answer is that John Coltrane – someone who is always, y'know, spoken about with reverence and y'know, 'he was so pensive and contemplative and y'know he was the best jazz man ever'. He had a hit with *My Favourite Things* on Atlantic Records and for the rest of his career until his last couple of records; he always tried to get that success back again. He had a hit and he enjoyed it and in interviews he was quoted as saying, in numerous occasions, 'I'm still looking for another *My Favourite Things'* because, y'know, one of the greatest jazz men ever, one of the hippest composers and players of music in the 20th century didn't mind having a hit ever and I think that's, I think that's something that's never thought about with him, you know what I mean, with him or with jazz men in general. *(Adam Dorn)*

> I mean my attitude actually changed when I went to New York, y'know, and, I was going out regularly and there was great players doing all sorts of gigs, and why not? Really, I mean that! Once you're doing the thing that you believe in, why not do other gigs and make money out of it and have a more comfortable lifestyle? *(Hugh Buckley)*

These two quotations show us that even when musicians do move away from their theory-y sensibility and admit to the commercial orientation of their music-making, they simultaneously move closer to theory-y actualisation by grounding their approach with reference to old masters who are seen as the epitome of artistry and musicianship. Comfortable that nobody would dare argue that John Coltrane was not a proper artist, Adam is able to legitimise his bohemian credentials within the commercial domain by comparing his approach to Coltrane. Similarly Hugh Buckley argues that he can continue taking concerts which would typically be seen as inappropriate for an artist by arguing that the very best musicians in New York also take these concerts so why should this make him less of **an artist? In these cases the musicians achieve** their balance philosophically.

For other musicians, the thought that their music was somehow commercially orientated was rejected and was seen as an accusation that had to be defended. For example, Bill Whelan described his view on his hugely commercially successful venture *Riverdance:*

> There's nothing commercial about this music as far as I'm concerned. To me I'm writing music that comes from my heart. Riverdance has been an extraordinary success therefore the temptation is to make the connection and say it's commercial music. What does that mean? I don't know what that means. Is U2 commercial music? Is Sínead O'Connor? Elvis Costello? Anyone who sells records, is that commercial music? Is the great sin to have success? Anyone who says its commercial music to me is saying 'you're not allowed to have commercial, you're not allowed to have success out of good music'. I will stand over the quality of the music that I write. I think it is good music. I think it is complex music and at the same time it is accessible and that's what I try to do. Ask any musician who plays in Riverdance and they will tell you that the music is not easy to play but it is accessible to an audience and that to me, as a composer, is what I try to achieve. I don't believe in being obtuse with music and I don't believe that, y'know, if the music is accessible, I'm very happy but equally I have much music that has never been successful but I feel equally proud of.
>
> *(Bill Whelan)*

> Writing to order which is basically what you'd be doing, is not a, you know it's a healthy academic exercise but I don't think it's a, I don't think it's good for the creative head. *(Paul Noonan)*

> I've been in posing bands where you're, you have restrictions of design, where you're a new wave band and your going to sing every song like (sings rapidly in a staccato) 'I have to get up every morning and clean my face and clean my teeth and I have to figure out what I can eat – da, da, da', y'know just like that. I've been in those situations, no you can't sing a song like *Wicklow Hills,* ha, ha, it all *has* to be staccato, y'know like, and you have to look a certain way and I see bands now and it's the same thing, just a different thing, y'know like Bell X1 have a certain look, they have a certain presentation and maybe they have, y'know give them a chance they still have, y'know that's a dangerous game, well its not, it can be a successful game but its one day I woke up and I realised that the only thing I can actually do as a human being if I'm going to keep on being a musician is to be myself because it's actually all I have to offer, you know. If I'm going to sound a little bit like Neil Young, well there's already a Neil Young, y'know. If I decide that I'm going to sound Californian, that's ludicrous, I'm not Californian, there's a lot of brilliant bands in California who sound Californian. I have to sound like a guy who was born and raised in this little town here and ended up picking up all this shit as I went all over the world. The full picture is who I am and that is not necessarily a great pedigree I'm sorry to say, y'know I'm not 'I was born on soul music and I never veered from the blues', y'know its

> meant to be solid pedigree kind of thing, y'know roots, my roots are country and western or soul. You know like I love all those musics but I also like, y'know, Serge Gainsberg and I like, fuck, the list is so long of what I do like. So I try to let go of all those restrictions of design and be who I am and when I'm on stage, the only way I can perform is to completely embrace the audience.
>
> *(Pierce Turner)*

It is interesting to note how each of these three musicians, despite the fact that they have experienced commercial success at different points of their career, deny that their music is commercial by reference to different arguments. Bill Whelan argues that the complexity and challenging nature of his compositions ensure that the music is not commercial. Paul Noonan argues that because his music is not produced at the behest of other people, it is not commercial music. Finally Pierce Turner argues that his music is not commercial because it is true to himself and not based on imitating popular conventions. When thought about, it is obvious that there can be a huge number of ways that musicians can define their bohemian values of music against a commercial orientation thereby maintaining their theory-y self-identity. We can see that each musician identifies *their* idea of bohemian values as the structuring one, the mainspring against the complexities of commercialised music. Within this, there is great flexibility for musicians to define what commercial music is as a different domain to what they do and this flexibility allows the musicians to develop their respective balancing act, each balancing act unique to each musician's world view. Indeed both Adam Dorn and Kieran Goss referred to the personal nature of the balancing act:

> So it's really just a personal thing, you either want to do it or you don't want to do it. It's hard to describe, it's an instinct. Like U2 don't really get their music used at all in advertising but the Rolling Stones do. It really depends and it's for each artist to decide for themselves. *(Kieran Goss)*

> If you know you can do a half million dollar deal and give $300,000 to a charity, well I don't care how everybody else looks at that, that's my business, y'know, if they think that's a cheesy sell-out move, well it's not a cheesy sell-out move if you help cure a disease or if you keep, if you put three families in a home or whatever. So there's interesting things about what is that balance. That balance is a very personal thing, you know what I mean? It's like what you see on the, what you perceive on the surface might not actually be the reality. *(Adam Dorn)*

As Becker would argue (see section 3.5), even art that appears to be totally maverick still conforms, to a certain extent, to commercial orientation, so in a sense all music can be considered as carrying some commercial dynamic. However whilst Adam Dorn readily admits to a degree of commercial conformity - then couches this practice with reference to the great jazz masters – other musicians would reject the claim outright and instead point to a bohemian ideology which places art at the level of the transcendent. The important conclusion is that there is an absence of fundamental rules which can be directly applied and as creative people, it is not surprising that each musician rationalises their own career in a very creative way that allows them to pursue their own ambitions without jeopardising their bohemian self-conception. This flexibility is what facilitates the balancing act.

6.2.5 Summary of findings

From this data we can see a number of issues emerging. Musicians very much identify with a theory-y self-conceptualisation and partly base this conception by distancing themselves, through discourse, from the theory-x other who occupies a 'real world' marked by reification and materialism. This conception of not being in the 'real world' can lead to an abdication from administrative duties and can place the musician in a situation where they can be exploited by those who very much reside in that world. As

abdication is generally not sustainable over the long-term, many musicians try to engage with theory-x functions but reconcile these activities with their theory-y self-conception through references to philosophy and masters. Some musicians have found greater creative freedom by paradoxically embracing administrative tasks, resulting in an often complex balancing act yet musicians try to maintain their theory-y identity throughout this act.

Musicians interpret the dynamics of a commercial orientation in very idiosyncratic ways. This allows each musician to make own their judgment regarding what is commercial and what is acceptable under bohemia and it is the freedom which emerges from this flexibility that makes possible the complex balancing acts that musicians engage in.

6.3 Theme 2 Alienation

This theme returns the dissertation to the Marxian concept of alienation (see section 1.3).

6.3.1 'A different sport to what we do'

Musician alienation takes a number of forms and the first to be addressed is entitled 'a different sport to what we do'. In this the musicians look to what they take as the standard fare of the culture industry and stress how it is another existence to what they do. This mirrors the process illustrated in section 6.2 whereby musicians would define their theory-y status by differentiating themselves from theory-x people and drawing conclusions from these differences. In this case the theory-x people whom the musicians are seeking to distance themselves from, are not the people in supposedly reified employment, but rather other musicians who appear to be deeply integrated into the machinations of the culture industry. We can see that the below musicians draw pride from observing the other and realising that they do not commodify themselves in such a way.

> We've never relied on the media and I think the media has always been a bit, I mean, a bit kind of funny with us because we've never played the game with them. Y'know, we've never really courted them which, say with the Louis Walsh's and that sort of thing, that's very much a different sport to what we do.
>
> *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

> Well I'll tell you something, I think of all the groups, I think we are certainly not well packaged and I think that whatever about packaging yourselves for making an album, I mean you don't see us dressed in robes and velvet and coming out of the mists of time. Our pictures are very much just photographs, em, whether it be sitting around a table in a pub or outdoors, the Danú images are pretty much just images of Danú. We've been told before that the record label likes to have us on the cover; and being a band of seven people who are certainly not millionaires that's what you'll get, is us on the cover. But we're certainly not selling to anything at the moment...Other bands would probably be a bit more, em, Celticy

> looking and stylised and maybe the photos are often kind of worked on afterwards and made kind of softer focus and stuff like that. That is more of what appeals to the Americans because they like to be slick and we're not slick.
> *(Muireann NicAomhlaoibh)*

> I'm an artist not some kind of pop machine, some kind of song writing machine.
> *(Kieran Goss)*

> Generally music is kind of a cultural thing so you get rock-a-billy music comes with the clothes and the get-up and everything, I mean eh, I don't involve myself too much with that. *(Gerard Whelan)*

> I think that for bands like us and other bands, it's more a case of you find your niche and where you feel comfortable doing it. Y'know I think we were never one for limousines and we never had an entourage or anything like that, we never spent £2,000 a show on fireworks, y'know, we're not Kiss, Kiss can justify it, y'know that sort of thing. Eh, and at the end of the day with us it was all about the music. I don't need to wear a two hundred quid pair of trousers in order to play good, y'know. *(Michael McKeegan)*

Just as in the previous section we can see how the musicians each identify which aspect of commercialisation they are going to define themselves against; be it courting the media, how the group are photographed, whether they produce songs to order, the clothes they wear or whether or not they produce a carnival style spectacle. In this way a group can indulge in one form of what others would consider to be overt commercialism yet the musicians themselves would not agree because they place their values regarding commercialism in other dimensions. Once again we can see the flexibility at work.

However, the important factor here in terms of alienation linking all of these is that musicians seek for their music to be taken for its utility value and in the above data, we can see the musicians seeking to distance themselves from other musicians who operate at exchange value – and this can be understood by the so-called 'other sport'. This adds an important dimension to what is considered as theory-y because it implies that the

musicians quoted here seek to produce music as an end in its own right and do not want the music to be compromised by the other non-music elements in the communication mix.

However, due to culture industry processes through which musicians' labour, their music comes to be commodified for commercial transactions and they often realise that both they and their music operate at an exchange level and this is a process which can result in a sense of alienation and disappointment for the musician. The following are examples of musicians describing their unease at the exchange level nature of how they are consumed.

> I'm not really a fan of those open air days out because they're not really concerts to me, they're events. People go to them who don't even know who the artist is and it's a day out. I've done lots of them in Europe and I don't really think, I never really enjoy them because it's hard to get a connection with the audience. It's hard to really compete with the distraction of the bar and the merchandise people and y'know, so that's not really part of my world. I mean I've done some of those gigs but only every now and again. *(Kieran Goss)*

> People have been saying up to now, *Celebrate, Celebrate, Celebrate, Celebrate, Celebrate, Celebrate,* y'know because of the Emotional Fish hit, *Celebrate this party's over, I'm going home*, y'know like, I used to hear that constantly. Now *True Friends* is kind of like coming, eh, I'm a two-hit wonder now, ha ha, at least. *(Gerard Whelan)*

> I wouldn't discourage there being a stream for total youth culture to make its voice heard but it needs to be in parallel and in balance with lots of other forms of musicians and stuff. I'd like to see a 40-year-old drummer, a 60-year-old saxophone player and an 18-year-old guitar player, you know what I mean? Why does it have to be this? The music doesn't have to be, it's not a football team, it's not like you suddenly get too old. You don't, you actually get better as you get older. Therefore we are dealing with a profession where the older you get the more skilled you become, the less your commercial value becomes. *(Greg Boland)*

> I've mixed views on the Cork Jazz Festival on whether it's good for the music here or not, y'know, because, em, it's a typical Irish drinking festival, I mean the

> emphasis is on drinking Guinness and all that. I mean the acts they bring in are world class, y'know, it's great and it's been a wonderful opportunity for local guys like myself to play with some great international players, y'know, for years I've been able to play, every year, with some really good international players and, eh, it's a great learning thing for me and all that. But also there's a very small percentage, I don't know how many people go to the festival, maybe 40,000 will go to the weekend, or something like that, but there's a very small percentage of those who'll actually go to the real musical gigs then the actual fringe thing which is huge, y'know, it's not really jazz music, y'know, it's, eh, it's drinking and it's eh, people will see that as being jazz music and it's not at all, like.
>
> *(Hugh Buckley)*

> I was given, which was really nice, a Gold Disc once from a European country, I'll not name which one but it was pretty cool, and, eh, it was for, eh, 50,000 units, it said on it. What you're not meant to drink so many units of alcohol per week, y'know what I mean it's just a way of measuring a generic term and it didn't piss me off because it was really cool but you do have to accept that that's how a lot of people look at things. At the end of the day it doesn't, the money crushers at a label, especially a major label like A&M, they don't look at reviews or the fan's reactions or the sold-out shows, they look at a piece of paper with 'we paid this much, they sold this many, we lost this much money'.
>
> *(Michael McKeegan)*

In the above comments which illustrate the sense of alienation musicians feel due to the commodity existence of music, a number of points need further comment. Kieran Goss' unhappiness of performing at festivals is of interest. If he was unhappy performing at the festival, the question should be asked, why was he there in the first place? If Gerard Whelan did not enjoy *Celebrate* being a successful hit, why did he put the song through the machinations of the culture industry? Again this returns to the sense of irony regarding the nature of the musician career and self-conception. It is suggested that the above are examples of moments when the musicians did not succeed in playing their balancing act to their satisfaction.

Second, Hugh Buckley's comments suggests that even though only a very small percentage of patrons at the *Guinness Cork Jazz Festival* were jazz enthusiasts, their presence alone suggests that he considers his presence at the festival as carrying artistic merit. This suggests that whilst the majority of the audience took the concert at exchange value level, a small minority were able to contemplate the music and perhaps experience it at the level of utility and this, his text implies, made him feel less alienated.

Therefore, we can conclude that very often musicians gain a sense of disenchantment from the mechanisms of the culture industry and yearn to have a deeper engagement with the people who listen to their music. Rather than being taken at its internal value and as an end in itself, their music is treated as a commodity, left at the mercy of theory-x people who are incapable of contemplating the music in a meaningful way. As opposed to this, the following are examples of musicians describing the sort of profound aesthetic reaction which they aspire to affecting in their listeners:

> I remember one guy in particular who, eh, his wife had a terminal illness and was dying and this was her favourite song and actually *True Friends* was a song that kind of helped them get through that period, y'know. I met this guy with his three kids and he was telling me this story, y'know, there's a lump in your throat... (Another was) a guy from Cork, he heard the *Celebrate*, he heard it in, I don't know where he was based, but he joined the Foreign Legion, y'know, and realised that he'd made this awful mistake in joining this army unit and heard *Celebrate, this party's over, I'm going home* and packed his bags and ran away, y'know. They're all little inspiring stories, y'know. *(Gerard Whelan)*

> I think the people who come to our shows now are people who are more into our shows musically, y'know, they've seen us on MTV and they've seen us headline a big festival and it's like, what else is there after that, y'know? It's the music that keeps them coming back, its not because we were on MTV last night that they come to the show, its because they want to come and see the band and have a good night and enjoy the music and hopefully, ha, ha, be entertained.
>
> *(Michael McKeegan)*

An important element here is what forms of success do musicians' value? The commercial logic of the commodity market dictates that value is measured by the amount of money generated. Yet here the musicians are defining their success in non-commercial terms. In other words there is a resistance to the exchange process itself and therefore resistance to the commodification of their music. When they feel that this resistance is failing, the musicians feel alienated from their own music. However, as the following section illustrates, musicians are not always necessarily alienated and sometimes derive great satisfaction from their music.

6.3.2 Success in the quality of the music as an end in itself

As opposed to the logic of the market whereby satisfaction is taken from the money gained through the commercial exploitation of a commodity, the data yielded examples of musicians taking alternative forms of satisfaction. This data can be divided between the musicians who understand their success in the quality of the music they produce as an end in itself and the second group who consider success to lie in causing a profound aesthetic response from the audience. These two divisions are represented in the below data. The first data presented are all from musicians who take value to come from the quality of the music as an end in itself:

> So the fact that, eh, creatively, in my estimation anyway, we've been making better records all the time, eh, has kinda sustained me, or nourished me.
>
> *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

> I did a concerto, a violin and piano concerto with Peter Reeves and I think that that was one of the best pieces of work I've ever done. It's a full three movement romantic concerto for piano and violin. I was very pleased with that, I thought it was a very good piece of work. I mean you wouldn't sell it if your life depended

> on it because again it's like a minority thing. I did a jazz album last year with Drazen Derek which I thought was a good album, I thought I actually played well on it, y'know; I thought it was a good piece of work. And they're probably the two recordings that I've done to date that are closest to my heart in terms of quality and standard that I'd like to achieve consistently. They are the records that are closer to what I would want to be than anything else I've ever done. *(Patrick Collins)*

> I wrote a piece called Inislackin which was a concerto for traditional fiddle and classical fiddle which is a twenty minute piece that I did for the National Symphony Orchestra with Zoë Conway. I think that's, in many ways, one of my better pieces but it will never, in any way, make any money. *(Bill Whelan)*

> It would be the more advanced jazz orchestra type of things that would be the highlights, the sort of thing that I remember the most. They would be the ones that I most enjoy. Even recording sessions which jazz big bands and recording sessions and things like that, they just, and with a bunch of people that I work with, they would be a bunch of people, the jazz musicians and the big band musicians that I work with here, it's fantastic. It creates the most fantastic feeling in the world when those things happen. *(Karl Ronan)*

> That's what I enjoyed about any of the trips in latter years was the actual concert, its great to be still playing with all the guys and I think they all felt that. The concert was breaking the monotony of hanging around all day or sitting in your room or whatever, to get out there and play the show, to do what we were getting paid to do. And that's one thing that I have to say, there'd be a lot of jobs where you'd love the trip to the job or the trip home from the job but the actual doing the job is a drudge. In my case anyway, everything else involved would be a drudge except the actual work which was the concert although everything else we'd do leading up to the concert was work as well, hanging around. *(Martin Fay)*

Note in some cases the musicians actually drew attention to the non-monetary dimension of this satisfaction, for example Bill Whelan said 'I think that's, in many ways, one of my better pieces but it will never, in any way, make any money', and also Patrick Collins who said 'I thought it was a very good piece of work. I mean you wouldn't sell it if your life depended on it'. In this way we can speculate that the satisfaction in non-monetary success is at least in part a form of bohemian withdrawal from bourgeois materialism. What is important to note is that these musicians take their satisfaction from the

performance of the music rather than the reception whether that be record sales or praise from an audience. They themselves are the measure of their own success. This idea is further addressed in the following section following a contrast with musicians who take success to lie in the audience response.

6.3.3 Success in the Audience Response

As opposed to the above examples where musicians took satisfaction in the quality of the music as an end in itself, the following musicians took satisfaction in achieving a profound aesthetic connection with the audience who have succeeded in contemplating their music in a very profound way. Perhaps sensing that a very special form of communication has taken place, the musicians feel that they have achieved something extraordinary with their music:

> So I just want to put out something where every song makes somebody feel something, not, y'know, and it kind of gets back to what we were saying earlier, I want to put out a record where you want to listen to the whole thing. There's nothing to make you say 'oh man! Skip that song'. *(Adam Dorn)*

> The things that matter to me with regards to my work are small things: meeting somebody who was affected by a song or meeting somebody whose day was made easier by listening to a song or, to me, that might sound a bit corny, but to me they are the successes in my life as a singer is encountering people whose lives have been enhanced in some small way by the work I do. The other stuff is fine and it's grand in its own way but, to me, they are the awards that count, y'know. I meet that in my everyday life, I have people who come and talk to me quietly about hearing a certain song in 1982 or the night I sang such-and-such a song in Galway or the night they heard it on the radio. I know of cases where the songs have helped people in their grieving, I've had, that's where I would consider my success to lie. *(Christy Moore)*

> One of the things I love, especially abroad, y'know I go to Düsseldorf and 700, 800 turn up because they like your records and they are shouting for songs that you wrote in a little room in Newry, y'know. I love this thing where songs have gone out there and become parts of people's lives and things like that.
> *(Kieran Goss)*

> I want it to get to as many ears as possible, I mean it's not something that we just make for ourselves. I've always wanted to make a record that affects people in the way that other people's records have affected me, y'know, and inspired me.
> *(Paul Noonan)*

A good way of considering this data is to compare the earlier quotation from Kieran Goss where he described his displeasure of playing to festivals where people are barely listening to the music at all, to the above sample where he derives great satisfaction from playing to a much smaller audience who love his music. At this point we should ask why should musicians carry these two distinct means of valuing their success?

For the latter group of musicians who valued the audience reception, success was tied to the romantic ideal of making a profound aesthetic connection with the audience. The evaluation of success in aesthetic response can be regarded to be very much a bohemian ideal as, at its essence, it contains a rejection of materialism and instead a dedication to achieving sublime and transcendent moments through art which put us in touch with our own sense of humanity. Indeed in some of the data examples above, the reader will note how the musicians stress how their preferred piece of music will *not* make any money but rather the romantic ideal of creating a communal experience of contemplating music.

As opposed to this, the former group were not concerned about audience response at all but rather with the quality of their own performance. Rather than try to tie the world to their music, the act of making music is an end in itself and this relates to Attali's conception of *composition* (see section 1.5.5) which, he argued, was an attempt from the musician to remove the music from the commodity exchange process by making the act

of producing the music simultaneously the act of consumption by the producer. In other words, the music is produced not for the market but for the pleasure of the musician who uses the market to sustain his career. This can be considered as a way of denying the commodity nature of the music. In both cases we can see that the musicians are striving for music to be appreciated for utility, rather than exchange, purposes.

With this in mind, it becomes easy to see how the sense of alienation and frustration arises when the musician finds their work being successful in terms of material goals but not in the wider metaphysical goals that musicians believe to be important. A good example is provided by Michael McKeegan who, after tasting the dizzy heights of fame and commercial success with his band Therapy, went on to witness the commercial demise of the group. Rather than feel disillusioned with the climb-down in public stature, he took great comfort from the belief that it was the love of the music that had fuelled the group all along:

> We have this 18 months theory where each band comes along, and we've seen quite a lot of bands come along and stuff, and they've this eighteen months of glory where they can do no wrong and they do that and every festival you go to they're there and da, da, da. And then after that, maybe they stretch out for two years and if they're a really exceptional band, y'know, they can maybe get that going for three years or so but then it gets to that stage where either the band get burned out and lose their creativity or the media just get sick of them and obviously they just move on from it to the next thing and then you have two options; you can either keep going because you love music and you like it or you can split up and become bitter. And I think we have, when we started the band we liked the music and everything else came along by-the-by and it was great and all, I'll never slag the success we had or the media exposure and then when all that goes you have to say 'well do I still want to go into a practice room and jam?' And the answer for us was quite obviously 'yes', y'know, I don't need to be, ha, ha, to be on the front cover of a magazine to sort of justify what I do. I don't think that personally or that any of the band do. It's nice when it happens but if you're kind of recognised if people are saying 'oh right, check this out, this is something that's going on', y'know, if you're reading a magazine about some

> music that you might like. But it's not, we don't get as bent out of shape as maybe a lot of bands would. *(Michael McKeegan)*

Similarly, both Bill Whelan and Martin Fay respectively stress that their commercial success is not the driver of their music, should it be taken away then they would still be making music irrespectively:

> I mean this musical that I'm writing now may never reach the level that *Riverdance* did but *Riverdance* is not a bad shadow to be under. I mean if that's what happens, that's what happens, I could be dead tomorrow, y'know. So I don't think about that too much to be honest with you Alan, you know I don't go around brooding, y'know, Bill Whelan brackets *Riverdance*, y'know, lived 1950 to X. That doesn't bother me, y'know I only have one duty and that is to write the music and I write it as long as I'm able to and how it's viewed and all those other considerations don't really concern me. *(Bill Whelan)*

> I've been pretty well around musically as far as the circuit is concerned y'know. Traditional, light classical, classical, operas, whatever, pop of the time – it didn't matter to me really, as long as I was playing, that was it and that's where I'm now as I'm semi-retired, you might say, I'm still playing. As will every musician really, you don't just pack it up, y'know, I mean if I wasn't playing for music somewhere, I'd be playing here for myself anyway. *(Martin Fay)*

Indeed a recurring theme from musicians is how they refer to moments in their career when they were in financial difficulties and barely able to maintain their career, as is evidenced from the following quotes. In a way how the musicians refer to these periods can be considered as badges of bohemian honour as it illustrates their commitment to producing music despite their poverty. Also there is an element within the data of not feeling ashamed of their financial reward because they have lived in hardship in the past and have proven their bohemian credentials:

> There's no denying that I've been very, very lucky and you know there are many people as talented as me and who are writing music and it hasn't happened in the same scale and that's what happens. I know I was having to sell bits of my personal belongings to live in the 80s you know because things were so bad and I

am very happy now that I live in Galway and I have my own recording studio and I'm able to follow musical ideas that I have had for some time with the cushion of not needing to put food on the table this week, which is the way I was, y'know, I was living hand-to-mouth. So I do feel in a way that my ship has come in and I do feel, in a way, happy that the time I spent, y'know, sitting and playing *Joseph and the Technicolour Dreamcoat* for six months in the pit or touring with Tony Kenny or sitting in the recording studios playing country and western music, y'know, and doing everything that we all did and you *had* to do.

(Bill Whelan)

There's people who kind of sit on a bar stool in Whelans and mutter into their pints about anybody being successful, do you know what I mean? Or anybody kind of selling out or whatever it is. I think that for something to continue it needs to grow and develop and I think that for the Frames who have been together for about 13 years at this stage and myself and Glen, its very much a case, we're still moving forward just like we've always been moving forward so I mean its kind of nature that you kind of lose people along the way. I don't think that its any kind of tragedy, y'know, I don't think that we'll be crying about not having to play in the armpit somewhere in, y'know, Longford on a Gig Rig playing to six-year-olds somewhere, y'know. We're pretty unapologetic as regards that, ha, ha. We've definitely, eh, wherever we are, is the result of a long series of decisions that we've taken along the road, and important decisions that we've taken as regards just things would have not been good in the short term. We've played the long game for a long time and here we are, ha, ha. *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

I know lots of bands who sit in a van and drive for hours and play for three people and they love it. Whereas a lot of bands would be like, y'know bigger bands, 'well fuck that'. I think they sort of loose sight of where they've come from or what they wanted to do, y'know, when we started the band, and this is also true for Andy, I know that for a fact, we thought we were brilliant and we were just in a rehearsal room playing. Like, no one heard us for about eight months, we didn't play a gig or anything like that. *(Michael McKeegan)*

For professional musicians working in a commercial landscape, it is clear that many of them will have to accept the commodification of their music and that that music will take on exchange value. Realising that can result in another form of balancing act; some musicians manage their sense of alienation by dividing the work which they do into commercially orientated projects and artistically driven projects:

I divide my role as a musician in that I provide a service, 'how're you doin', come up and play bodhrán for this track', it's like a plumber, I come up and say, 'there

> you go' and take the money. But when I actually sit down with people and we compose something then that's me being the artist, you know what I mean? So maybe there's some sort of, ha ha, crazy logic there but that's the way I view it, y'know. *(Robbie Harris)*

> I mean there've been times where you have to turn down gigs, which is good, y'know. Now they're not always gigs that I like, y'know, musically I wouldn't really be very keen on doing them, y'know so I kinda separate the two. I keep the corporate like things, y'know things like that, em, I see them as a different thing and then I have my own projects where I write music and stuff like that. Now with those I don't especially expect to get a lot of money for, really, y'know, I mean if you can, I will alright but I kinda have the corporate thing that looks after that so not having the freedom I suppose, in a sense, to do what I want to do really, y'know. *(Hugh Buckley)*

Rather than keeping both elements of both commercial and artistic motivations present at the one time, the above musicians are describing a process of keeping them separate, therefore, achieving a certain degree of 'purity' for their artistic projects which are closer to their sense of self-identity and artistic aspiration. In this way rather than compromising the work which they strongly believe in, they will instead take other work which they consider as a mere source of income and independence in order to subsidise their wider career.

6.3.4 The Importance of Music

An important element that can account for the musicians' sense of alienation from how their music is presented in society, is that they strongly believe in the importance of music and society's capability to listen to it. In this sense the commodification of music is taken to undermine the important role that music can play in peoples' lives as the music's utility value is denied through the commodification process. What follows are descriptions by musicians of how they understand music to be important at a metaphysical and macro level:

Well I can only speak for myself. It's always been very important for me and I have been affected by songs right throughout my life, the way I feel about life and the way I feel about the world has been changed by hearing other people's songs. So I can only cite myself and my own experience in that songs can make a difference, em, so it's just, it's an important part of what I do and some people are like that and others don't and it doesn't matter. It's what I do.

(Christy Moore)

I would be a firm believer that song and dance are original prayer, y'know, that's how we prayed and those things are part of a culture. *(Gerard Whelan)*

If you take away the music business and commerce and you take away our notions of culture and you take away religion and we take away, y'know, civilisation and you take away language, we've still got music, y'know, it was there at the very start. We go on about being a pragmatic, kind of practical race and stuff like that or species but in point of fact one of the very first things we did was totally impractical, was totally irrational which was making music and art when we were still living in caves. So they are primarily important things and are connected completely to our humanity, we can't actually, it seems, have existed without doing these things and they were really important very early on.

(Greg Boland)

I do believe in the usefulness of music in a very broad way but rather than thinking of music as a sort of airy-fairy add on to society, I actually think that music can be at the very heart of society and actually can be very important to society. I always think of it rather like the blood in the body, the blood goes round and you have to, it washes around the body and sort of flushes the body out, keeps the body refreshed and functioning properly so whenever you write a piece of music that people ring you up email you for say 'well look, we're getting married in a month's time, would you mind if we use such-and-such a piece', or other occasions where they say 'my father died and this piece of music was really important during his lifetime, would you mind if we played it at his service?' That to me is hugely, em, how will I put it? It is great for me to get requests like that because it means that my music has a use, it is useful music and has a meaning and of course I'm only too delighted for people to use it in those ways. It has a social function it's, y'know, Shakespeare always uses music in his, always used music in his work as a healing device. If anybody has to be brought back to life in a Shakespeare play, it's always the musicians who are called for to play music, um, and there are, I've done a lot of Shakespeare with the RSC in London so I'm quite accustomed to this. For example, King Lear recovers his senses while the band, the court band are playing music specifically to help him recover. Um, so that just ties in with my point, I think that music is important to society and, um, broadly speaking, that's what makes me feel that I'm doing the right thing. *(Shaun Davey)*

> Every now and again you will get some people who are listening to that shit and they, y'know, their souls really desire to hear something heavier and when they hear it they say 'oh yeah, that's exactly what I want to hear, I didn't know I was missing this but I am missing this', y'know. *(Pierce Turner)*

As well as at a metaphysical level, some musicians believe that their music can work at an important ideological level. The following are examples, and to put in context the first quotation, Anne Lovett died in labour and the Stardust refers to a Dublin nightclub which burned down killing many young people inside and the subsequent controversial police investigation:

> My hunch is that some of the songs that I've sung across the years be it about Anne Lovett or be it about the Stardust or be it about travellers or racism or sexism or whatever, I think that maybe the songs might represent the way that a lot of people might think but wouldn't be prepared to say... I've found it more of a challenge more than anything else, it still happens in my work today. I still write songs that I know make the audience feel uncomfortable and sometimes the very performance of it can cause discomfort in the room, but I find that challenging, I have to say. I find it challenging to present those kind of situations within the area of entertainment. *(Christy Moore)*

> The notion of the artists' voice in any culture, particularly a democracy, being an indicator of how free we are to speak with our own voice and to express ourselves. In other words if we don't get to see this, there is an issue of, if you like, cultural oppression, taken to its radical extreme, and possibly even civil liberties. *(Greg Boland)*

> Does your music make the world a better place? Is it Daimler Chrysler who came out with a, em, the domestic version of the Humvee recently. Humvee is the American jeep, the one that takes up half the road, more than half the road. The civilian version of it is called Hummer. Arnold Schwarzenegger arrived to one of his press conferences in California a couple of weeks ago in a Hummer. They're brand new, they are a statement by American industry since the Iraq conflict, since the occupation of Iraq and it has a monstrous engine in it, I saw it reviewed on a motoring programme and the guy was going up a slight hill at the time and there was a read out, it sort of averages at four miles to a gallon and I mean, like, how politically correct is that? At the time he was saying, like 'my God, it's down to one mile a gallon'. One mile a gallon! A vehicle in this day and age that consumes a gallon of petrol to go one mile is a disgrace, a disgrace to humanity given what it's going and to my mind that's a political statement. America has

penetrated Iraq and has gotten to the oil, now we will control the oil, now there's all this crap about the UN taking over which is the last thing that the US want because they want control of the oil, maybe they'll be able to retain control of the oil whilst the rest of the world puts Iraq back together but its such a poisonous, immoral, disgusting, shameful situation and the Hummer is a manifestation of it and to go back to what you feel about your music, does it make the world a better place? Is the Hummer making the world a better place? *(Donal Lunny)*

I think it is very important and that many of the great musical traditions of the world have come out of a context of oppression and that some of the most resilient forms have come out of resistance to colonial rule or other types of exploitation, when you think of black music, when you think of contemporary hip hop and rap music, even though it had its genesis down in different directions, in a kind of a working class, under-class consciousness and when you think of the blues or other types of black music such as Gospel which came out of a kinda a resilient ability to be able to resist, eh, dreadful oppression. When you think of Irish songs and Irish music itself, the very statement of Irish music was subversive in a colonial context, to present your own indigenous identity whether you knew it or not as a political thing, it really had a political overtone to it. There are more obvious examples of it like people singing protest songs y'know, that have direct references to resistance in the lyrics of songs, say. But one way or the other, an awful lot of the most fragile and beautiful traditions of the world have come out of a counter-culture movement, an anti-mainstream context so in that sense a lot of music is profoundly political or ideologically, its counter-cultural and I think that those musics are very important, as well as being great art, a lot of them are very, very important kinda identity markers, eh, and in a world, in a rapidly modernising world, identity markers I think ground you in the sense of who you are, where you come from and your own unique heritage. *(Mick Moloney)*

Well music tends to be a shit-stirrer, it tends to... Yeah because musicians, by nature, are expecting you to listen to them, y'know, and most musicians expect that when they give you a song or a recording, that it will in some way lift your spirits, be good for you. That's what I hope to achieve when I'm making a recording, that it will move a listener in the same way that I like to be moved when I'm listening to a track. *(Pierce Turner)*

It should be noted that while the above musicians believe in the ideological powers of music, there is great diversity in their description of music's powers. For example, Christy Moore sees power in politically motivated music, Greg Boland sees the inability of musicians to produce the music that they want to as being indicative of a repressive culture, Donal Lunny saw music as occupying a separate dimension to consumer

products which he objected to on environmental and geo-political grounds and associated the fuel-uneconomic Hummer with the war in Iraq, Pierce Turner and Mick Moloney see music as belonging an anti-mainstream voice of dissent. Mick Moloney also referred to the dangers inherent in these powers with particular references to the (ab)uses of music during the Third Reich.

Finally given the importance of music in people's lives at both metaphysical and ideological levels, there was a concern expressed that culture industry processes inhibit these potential powers. We can note how these concerns contain elements of alienation:

> So in that case the music that they're (mainstream radio stations) playing has been made by musicians who are not at all thinking about lifting your spirit, in my opinion, they're thinking about playing a game, in my opinion. Yeah, I don't think its good because every consumer out there is not concentrating, is not a major music fan, y'know some people just like a bit of music, y'know, and during the day they're a plumber or something like that and they like to hear a bit of music. So they will put on RTÉ2 and they will take that shit in but yeah, it's bad for them because they won't have the patience to listen to you talk to them. You bring out one of those people who has been listening to that type of music to one of my gigs and they'll probably have a nervous breakdown or something, they'll, they could implode or explode, they'll just, it could freak them out, they might have to leave immediately, 'what you want me to sit here and listen to this guy sing this song that's really slow and he's bringing up questions about, y'know, being messed up or, no I don't really want to slow down and think about, I don't want to think, I want to be flying around here, lets go, lets get some ecstasy, some coke, lets fly, y'know, I don't want to be thinking'. So it would frighten some people to make them listen, every now and again you will get some people who are listening to that shit and they, y'know, their souls really desire to hear something heavier and when they hear it they say 'oh yeah, that's exactly what I want to hear, I didn't know I was missing this but I am missing this', y'know. Generally it's bad for people because that radio could be providing what radio is supposed to provide and that is as a soundtrack to your life and that soundtrack should be one that is consoling sometimes and makes you stop and maybe I should think for a moment here, this feels good, this calms my soul to hear this, y'know. *(Pierce Turner)*

> If all you're getting is nothing but pop music, then certainly that's like eating nothing but carrots, do you know I mean, it's not good for you. If you, again you

> can take it to a sort of radical point of view and say its now being recognised that music is a healing force and certainly psychologically and mental illnesses so you take the collory to that, y'know, if it can heal it can harm. In other words if you have a society that is being subjected to constantly one kind of form of something you're actually impacting psychically on the whole culture if they can't get something else. And this is something that business doesn't understand that people actually need music, it's not like a sort of fashion, it's not a sort of add on handbag, you know what I mean, you know the famous quote, 'it's not a three piece suit'. It's not something you add on, it is if you talk to most musicians who've spent a long time in it and they all come to this realisation that it's a primary thing. It's the way that babies learn how to speak, y'know, it's the way we learn our language, it makes neurological connections, it has an actual physiological impact on us as we learn all through our schooling and stuff like that, it helps us learn and that has been fairly recognised fairly recently in articles.
>
> *(Greg Boland)*

The essence of these two quotes is summed up by Greg Boland's comment that 'if it can heal, it can harm'. Both musicians feel concerned because, echoing Adorno, they feel that people are being denied something very important which should be provided to them by music but instead are provided potentially damaging music by culture industry. Whilst there is a danger of overstatement, we can understand the musicians as carrying a sense of self-importance as they believe that the music that they create provides a tonic to culture industry abuse and hence their careers can be understood as a type of crusade. This further helps us to understand their frustration at the commodification of their music.

6.3.5 Rebellions

A number of times within the data, there were examples of musicians conducting rebellions against culture industry processes as a result of what we can speculate arises from alienation. The following examples begin with Rossa Ó Snodaigh performing at a Guinness sponsored festival wearing a Murphys baseball cap – Murphys are a competing producer of stout:

Well when I played there I wore a Murphys cap, much to the horror of TV3 who were filming that day. They were asking me to take off the cap and all that, they said that they weren't going to play our music and a friend of mine was working for TV3 so they filmed our show but they were like, we weren't going to be part of, they weren't going to show us in the film because I had a Murphys cap on and it was, y'know, going against the money they were getting... It was a giggle. It was kind of like, 'God, what will they do', but eh it was just amazing to see how seriously Guinness were taking themselves. Afterwards how, y'know, it was only someone who was employed by Guinness, there was no-one there making sure that every single thing that was seen, that everything that people bought, wore or pissed up against was... Y'know they have weaned this SS, you know everyone's like 'Guinness is SS', and it's just fucking insidious. It's a fascist state regime, Big Brother down on top of ya, its just bollox, y'know. I actually had the cap for whatever reason in the van, y'know using another product to get a product. They just took it far too seriously, it was, they wanted every band to be part of Guinness, but, eh, whatever. *(Rossa Ó Snodaigh)*

For corporate gigs is something to look like it's sort a the business y'know, it doesn't matter how it sounds really. It doesn't y'know, I know that for a fact because I've tried playing stuff that's not musical, ha ha ha, on those gigs and nobody notices. I've actually done that a few times, I'll say, just play anything, just play, just hit the instruments anywhere and we'll get no response, we'll get, y'know, nobody knows at all and you'll get someone will come up at the end and say 'that was great, thank you'. Ha ha ha ha ha, so yeah, in that way it is still is to do with image still, y'know. *(Hugh Buckley)*

This Irish-American who had involved us in the campaign asked me to write a jingle for a company that was doing fast frozen pies where you could buy them and sorta take them home. And they wanted me to use, eh, *Molly Malone* as their tune because they were fairly, fairly astute people in that sense that they know that people will recognise a melody and go along with it. But I couldn't do it in a sense; I couldn't go along with it. I think I sorta blew my commercial career by actually changing the Molly Malone rhythm which was a waltz rhythm, a ¾ rhythm, bam, bam, bam – to a 4/4 rhythm. I think it was the first time that I actually did this and it is something that has characterised me ever since as I love it when I know a tune in the beginning and then mess around with it. But it went, eh, (sings to the melody of Molly Malone) 'they've got more berries, 35% more cherries, baked in a pie that is crusty and...' and they had me and Cathy singing this and I sort of playing folky guitar and stuff, it was really awful. But they liked it. So they invited us down to this convention, that was, ha ha, we were living in Los Angeles at the time but they flew us down to this convention that Johnson's Pies were having and by this time I had realised that I had this enormous power over music with this changing rhythms, changing keys and stuff and I decided that it actually worked better in a minor key then it did in a major key, eh, and not only that but I could write, because at that time I was a student of Russian, that I could write Russian lyrics to this minor key thing and it would be great. God

> knows what possessed me to think that I could get away with it but they flew us down for this kind of momentary entertainment at this banquet they were having in San Diego and we got out there and, uh, we sang this song. And as luck would have it, the wife of the President of the company was a Serbian woman who actually spoke Russian and she actually understood it and in the face of this clamorous silence of this Russian performance of this jingle, she came and told us that was very nice indeed and that, if she was in Russia, she would certainly buy, ha ha, the pies. *(Thom Moore)*

In all three cases there is yet again the presence of irony and the reader will left thinking; if the musicians were so uncomfortable with these events, why did they voluntarily participate in them? The answer must surely lie in their lack of alternative, as professional musicians it is their job to perform at such events, no matter how distasteful they may be. The need to conduct the rebellions can be understood as the musicians trying to lash out against the very processes that push their music into the exchange process and therefore is an outcome of a sense of alienation.

In this section we can see the processes through which musicians come to feel alienated from the mechanisms of culture industry. This is partly informed by the bohemian desire felt by musicians to produce a form of music that is transcendent. As this desire becomes transformed by culture industry into creating a commodity that is valued by the marketplace and therefore both fetishised and reified, a very real sense of alienation can be experienced by the musicians. This can manifest itself in many ways including disgust with the decadences of other musicians, rebellions as well as musicians dividing their work between what they regard to be artistically fuelled projects and commercially fuelled projects. The musicians, once again, demonstrated remarkable flexibility with

each musician seemingly defining different aspects of the commodification process as to their distaste.

Also evident in this section was the immense sense of importance that musicians believe that their music has the potential to carry in society and their fears that these powers are being abused by culture industry.

The next section explores how musicians, rather than becoming despaired by culture industry forces can sometimes take advantage of those processes in a way which allows them to realise their musical objectives and therefore can be very empowering.

6.4 Theme 3 Taking Responsibility

A recurring theme in the data is that of musicians 'taking responsibility' and addressing their administrative needs in a more purposeful way. This can be considered as a denial of the theory-y heroic status as it requires embracing administrative duties, something which as section 6.2 has demonstrated, is considered antithetical to the musician's self-conception. However in order to understand what is happening, it is important to note the great sense of flexibility reported in the previous sections that musicians have in defining their bohemian credentials. This allows the musicians to go beyond dichotomies of x versus y and instead take responsibility of theory-x functions partly as a response to the sense of alienation that they feel from commodification as well as their suspicions of wrong-doing amongst record label personnel. Finally an important factor which accounts for this drive is the collective sense of change within the music industry.

6.4.1 Hold on to your Assets

A recurring factor is the realisation of the value of the copyright held by musicians. As recording contracts typically require the assignation of those rights to the label (see section 3.4.2), the copyright has traditionally been sold by musicians. However as these data show, some musicians have realised both the potential gain if they retain their copyright or at least negotiate more favourable terms. Ethical questions are also raised by the whole concept of selling musical copyright:

> I now own my work and I own the publishing of my work and I don't know if you understand the rules but to own the actual record and to own the publishing of the tunes on the record are two separate things and when I had my deal with Palm Records, whereas I owned all my compositions, they owned the actual physical

recordings so when situations came up where someone wanted to use the music, I only saw half of the money that I would normally see. So you can understand that now, without aggressively looking for a label and with the record, that I might add isn't even finished, I've done five or six major licensing deals and I keep all the money. Like, no label sees any of that money so I'm not paying back an advance, I'm not paying for accountants to lie to me, you know what I mean? I own it. So when I do a car commercial I get everything and that's like, well why would I want a record deal with a company? I'll put this stuff out myself. All people need is a cover and some credits so why be partners with anyone ever again? Only to be basically lied to and, y'know, record labels are, they're there to make money for themselves, they're not there to make money for their artists, they pay you an advance and after you get that advance, boy, unless you sell a half million or a million records, you're not ever seeing money again. So why bother being in business with a label? *(Adam Dorn)*

Basically bands were just encouraged to just go to London and sign a deal and y'know, everything would happen for them after that and so it was so kind of the classic eighties export-our-talents, y'know. And what would happen was that people used to have their hopes dashed and came back from London after being dropped and would feel a failure and just invariably become a music journalist or something else then. Whereas I think the thing that is different now is that people are more wise about their own assets, I mean like a musician's assets are his music or his songs or whatever so, eh, I think more and more young people to, y'know, to keep a hold of your assets and not to sell them away too early.
(Colm MacConlamaire)

I think in general musicians are becoming more and more aware of the income streams that can come from music. I think that much of the, and if you look at the 50s and 60s, there was a lot of rip-offs coming, between record companies and managers and how the record companies structured deals and stuff like that. But more and more, like I'm 41 but most musicians of my generation are *very* aware of who owns the publishing rights or the recording rights of if you do a concert, are you on a percentage fee or are you getting a fee and if you are getting a fee then what percentage of the door does that represent, y'know? That, the generation below me are even more aware of it and I think even more aware of it just because they are exposed to it even more so I think that more and more Irish musicians are becoming more aware of the business implications of everything they do but I think that in general of musicians all around the world. And it's a good thing, it means that musicians, probably for the first time are probably taking control of their own destinies and they are driving hard bargains.
(Kieran Goss)

I certainly would like to see a model emerge where musicians owned their art and where they just leased it, temporarily under conditions that were mutually beneficial to people who want to exploit it, and I say exploit it in a neutral sense, to use it or market, that would be something that I would like to see happen and it

> does happen to some degree, there are some companies that do operate like that, in a sort of semi-collective way or where the ultimate ownership of the product always resides with the artist and I think that buying somebody's artistry outright forever, even though that's enshrined in most contracts, eh, I think there's something immoral about that and something unethical and certainly in the world of capitalism, that would not be considered so but I can only say that it feels uncomfortable to me and I would never seek to exploit somebody else's work myself, personally. *(Mick Moloney)*

There is a libratory sense of new-found confidence shared in all of the above quotations which typifies this section. Perhaps the collective sentiment is one of realisation that musicians do not need to rely on others to produce music, and in fact can potentially have a much more fulfilling and even financially rewarding career by avoiding the traditional business models. Perhaps for the first time, these musicians have learnt to think of their own music as their assets and this realisation empowers them.

6.4.2 A Cottage Industry

In the above quotes we can see the bullish attitude amongst musicians regarding the commercial use of their music. However for most musicians, embarking upon the route of independence means denying themselves access to the mass markets. The new model that these musicians are moving towards can be considered less like a multinational endeavour, and more like a cottage industry:

> For people like me, it's kind of like a cottage industry. You know you make a CD and you make a thousand copies and you sell them at the gig and you make a profit, y'know. And it's all relative to your status, you know what I mean. But yet it's a business, it's like a man running around with a ladder on his van, you know what I mean, cleaning windows. The van is a little business and that's how you operate, you don't have that, I don't have that aspiration that, 'Oh God, one day I'll be playing in the baseball stadium or something', ha ha, I won't, y'know, I'm fifty, I play the violin, its not going to happen, y'know. But I don't have a problem with that. *(Patrick Collins)*

I do it all myself now. I write my own songs, I record them in my own studio, I then release them on my own label and I'm my own manager. The only thing that I kinda let out to other people is the agency so I have different agents in each country to book the tours and promote the tours. So it's pretty much a cottage industry but it works, it's independent, it's small but it works.

(Kieran Goss)

If my record was being marketed in such a vile manner that it was being rammed down everybody's throat, then I would be doing that, but its not. I've never had a record that I've had that happen to. I imagine I would be a bit freaked out if that did happen, if I sold ten million albums, that would freak me out, to be honest. I would start to worry then that I'm doing something that's bordering on Mussolini country then, y'know, that's its taking over the world kind of thing, conquering the world is, em, is the thing now. If you want to be a musician now, you're supposed to conquer the world, that to me is not interesting at all. So yes you've got to do that if you want to be in the mode of conquering the world then I've got to play that game but I don't think I'm playing that game at all because, eh, because I'm not, I'm just a small grocery shop pedalling my groceries.

(Pierce Turner)

I think with the major labels, they probably aim for sales of between 200,000 and a million records for it to happen for them and that's quite a lot of records to have to sell whereas I think what we're seeing now in the future is looking for 30,000 record sales, y'know, whether that's a realistic target and em, I think smaller is where it's all happening now. *(Gerard Whelan)*

If you're an artist that sells, maybe, *maybe,* in this country 20,000 records per album which granted for what I do is pretty good, its not amazing by any stretch but it costs *nothing* to do what I do, it costs literally the expense of the CD that you burn the mix to after you're done writing. So I'm very, very tempted to do everything myself because I know how it works and I know that I only have to do small numbers to make, you know small numbers of sales to really make a living. Why partner up with someone? It's a bad business idea.

(Adam Dorn)

We can see in this series of clips that musicians who do take more of an administrative role in their personal management then lose their ability to bring their music to a mainstream audience. Although as stated this does not necessarily result in reduced earnings because the nature of record contracts are often biased against the musicians meaning that very few succeed in repaying their advance (see section 3.4). Also as the

expenses of independent production are decreased, sales of what would normally be considered to be far too low under the traditional record label model can now provide a very sustainable income for musicians. For others such as those listed below the drive towards being more active in terms of administration is borne out of a sense of frustration with what they perceived to be the poor job that their label was doing to promote them:

> I got tired of people complaining to me about how bad the record label was and it really, and it also felt a little futile to me... Like I had this song called *Wicklow Hills* which was played on BBC1 everyday day about five times a day and it wasn't in the record shop so y'know you do enough of that. It started to get frustrating, I mean, I put a lot into the albums, they're a huge, making an album is a huge chunk of your life, em, and when you've made three of them and you're writing the fourth one you're thinking it's a bit depressing to think this fourth album is gonna come out and its still not going to get any attention and it will get reviewed. I mean the third album got incredible reviews, it got in all the major magazines in Britain and in America but nonetheless nothing else happened so I found that frustrating and I felt I needed a bigger entity to promote it or something so perhaps naively I pulled away when my contract expired although the record company did say that they didn't want me to leave and that they would give me a studio and I could keep making albums there, ha, ha, I probably should have done that but I didn't, em, that's why I left that company and started making my own albums on my own label. *(Pierce Turner)*

> It took us, obviously, two trips through the loop of record companies to realise that, y'know, I suppose its about growing up as well and beginning to trust your own opinion and the more you're through studios and that process of record making, the more confidence you have in yourself and the more, its not such a black art, y'know, you pick up engineering skills and, eh, so it means that you trust in your own judgement. Especially after meeting, I mean we've worked with some really, y'know, ha, ha, some great people and also some real imbeciles, y'know, as regards in the business sense. I mean the last label we were with was a label called ZTT, but, eh, they, they just about released two records a year so they, they were kind of, just so out of touch and with whatever trend there would have been at the time and they were kind of, y'know, stuck back in the 80s with Frankie Goes to Hollywood so it was kind of very much a mismatch.
>
> *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

> My record sales have been, at the risk of insulting my label, have been nothing because they've made all their money back on licensing and they don't have, I think, the actual physical dollars to put it into marketing to sell the record so 'hey, we don't need to do anything, this songs been in 25 films, why should we do anything?' It's like, 'well, you could say that this song has been featured in these

> movies and it's like pump the record, y'know, spend some money, you gotta spend some money to make some money'. *(Adam Dorn)*

In the above quotations we can see a process whereby the growing sense of awareness amongst musicians regarding how to self-manage is also marked by an increased sense of doubt in the ability of their record label to properly manage their affairs. In this context self-management seems far more desirable.

A further element which encourages musicians to feel bullish in taking control of their own career rather then rely on the conventional music industry channels is the state of change within the music industry itself. As noted in section 3.4.3 the music industry is in a state of large-scale change (though the section also warned against over-stating the nature of that change as the change is paradoxically marked by a certain degree of continuity). Part of this change is a decline in the profits of the record labels and the data presented below illustrates that the musicians are very much aware of the supposed decline of the music industry and we can read into this data that their implication that the music industry is now inadequate for their needs:

> So the major record labels are in a lot of trouble right now. Van Halen who was on Warner Brothers for 25 years allegedly got dropped the other day. When Van Halen gets dropped, the record business is in trouble, y'know. So I don't how it changes. You know I'm buddies with Moby and we were talking the other night about what's going to happen in five years, are you even going to release a physical album? Or is it going to be high band with download of a file and its encrypted in some code because it's always possible to copy everything, y'know. But, uh, who knows where it's going? But I know that Sony and BMG and y'know, Virgin just paid Mariah Carey $28.8 million to *not* do business with her. Think about that! Adam Dorn would like $28.8 million to not do business with you! That's what I would like to do! Majors are in trouble and they know it.
>
> *(Adam Dorn)*

> There is a major crisis for the record industry now, for those people, the wolves so to speak because the amount of CDs that are being burnt, CDs are becoming

> worthless when you consider that every newspaper you buy on a Sunday now has a U2 CD in it. I had a Stereophonics in the Times last week, y'know, fourteen tracks, four tracks off their new album or something, y'know. OK it wouldn't be my bag particularly but you recognise that they are well known and that there is a big push on them and OK it's a good promotional ploy but you do notice with the advent of CD burners. I mean my kids burn everything, y'know, I mean as a musician it's highly immoral for all this to be going on but in every house people are burning CDs. I mean this house is full of CDs, you walk on the fucking things, and they're underneath the, y'know. They're worthless whereas in my generation it was, y'know, God you put the CD back in the cover (mimics holding CD in a very referential way) and you put it back in the thing because you spent sixteen quid for it or whatever it was. Now the kids are just, 'fuck that' y'know, you walk around and you'd find CDs everywhere because they're in the couch, y'know. So they are becoming worthless and because of Napster and the ability to download, y'know, the net has changed everything, the power of information, y'know, the entire media has been changed by all of this technology which for the most part is fantastic but for the most part the music industry is in crisis or is going to be in crisis. There is already a worldwide drop in CD sales and I imagine in the next five years it will get worse as more kids recognise that they can just burn CDs, y'know. And burners are cheaper and they'll be on the computer so you can buy them for fuck-all now, you know what I mean. So this technology is readily available and is being used, y'know. *(Patrick Collins)*

In accounting for the decline of the music industry, some musicians believe that it is because the major labels have allowed their thinking to become dominated by administration, theory-x instincts to the detriment of the creativity required to run what is effectively a creative business:

> It was only when the principles of marketing that apply to other commercial industries that I do think that the music industry became ultimately conservative and with the decline of sales, in CD sales and generally the decline of the industry with tape copying and everything else that's going on and the clamour for people's attention for music and everything else that's going on apart from music, obviously now its becoming more conservative because to survive now it has to survive with the secure horses. It will never, ever take punts like it used to.
> *(Bill Whelan)*

> The whole industry is not structured to provide employment to millions of people, it's to provide huge wealth for very few. So it's incredibly capitalistic in that sense and controlling and we could argue that there's probably a middle, nice happy ground there, somewhere in between whereby they could actually make this thing employ more people and provide a greater diversity of music because I

> mean funnily enough the whole model of that, the safe pair of hands accountant/lawyer is failing, it's failed. You can take that accountant/lawyer model further and see that its failing everywhere because if you don't add in a cultural, em, vision into that, into those safe pair of hands, you're going to end up with a mess, you are going to end up with loads of stuff that is really important to people but is not dealt with because they don't seem to have a practical, pragmatic function, y'know, in the immediate sense. *(Greg Boland)*

The logical conclusion to take from this is that musicians, provided they are sensible of the practical implications of the business of music, are in a unique position to commercially exploit their own music as they have the necessary creative impetus which, as some of them have argued, is missing from the record labels. This returns the discussion to the now familiar irony; the musicians feel alienated and distant from the theory-x world of materialism and administration yet in order to take control of their own careers they must embrace these tasks. The thoughts of the musicians on this contradiction are presented in section 6.2.3 *Embracing Administration* and the subsequent *Balancing Act* is described in section 6.2.4. To recap briefly, musicians sometimes found that administrative and financial control are the same as creative control as the latter was not possible without the former. This resulted in a complex balancing act for musicians as they sought to take control of the administrative tasks but also to do so in a way that would not compromise their creative impetus and integrity.

It might be **speculated that we are currently in a state of market shakedown as a result of** the introduction of new technologies into the market which has caught the record labels temporarily unprepared. In the vacuum which **has emerged the mus**icians are taking control of their own careers. In time it is possible **that the record labels** will learn to take control of the new markets. If this holds then we are currently witnessing a brief window

where musicians are experiencing a rare bout of independence. However, as the success of musicians in taking control of their administration is completely reliant on their knowledge and sense of confidence, these two elements if reproduced over time suggest that the record labels will find it much more difficult to resume the previous power relationships.

6.4.3 A Collective Upward Mobility

Another form of action or indeed taking responsibility was to be found in the musicians who, over the course of the research, established a new Musicians Union of Ireland. This was partly in response to the low prestige that musicians found themselves in (see section 6.2.1). The union held an almost militaristic and determined approach to collectivism as they realise the potential gains to be had by acting collectively rather than individually:

> If somebody has a problem with someone else who is using the music or abusing the music, as the case may be, then the union will give musicians a resource of protection to do something about it rather than be standing on their own. Things like say, a minimum fee for services. If you are doing a job as a musician which can be done by other musicians, if you're doing say session work in the pit with an orchestra or y'know, out playing on a show or playing on a record, well neither of them can play better than that, y'know, he's good, get him, she's good, get her and 'we'll only pay you so much', 'hang on a second, that's not enough'. And people need to make a living out of it. It's happened in all branches of the work field, the work place, that people have been, where people are driving a bus or if you are a dentist, no matter, there are sort of conventions in place which ensure that you get a proper week's wages and that's what the Musicians Union can do.
>
> *(Donal Lunny)*

> Now we're trying to raise that and have done with quite a few bands to actually treat the job of musician as you would with any other job, it's a person that you are employing to do a certain job between a certain time, it's a 9-to-5, if it goes overtime then he stops and goes home. One or the other. That's just another problem that was happening with musicians, we wanted to stop all that, we want to raise the profile of musicianship, of the musician, so that you know, so that every musician knows what he's getting paid, that he's getting a decent rate, when he's getting paid and he'll know what time he's got to play for and all that sort of

> thing. And all that was being abused so a bunch of us that used to do all these gigs just got fed up of all this. *(Karl Ronan)*

> Well a big aspiration of the union apart from the logistical and financial work that we might do to is to create a different situation, what we want to do is to change the perception of the musician and basically to legitimise the notion that being a career is a totally valid and legitimate one to have and that it is an important thing. *(Greg Boland)*

A defining point here is that the musicians are in such a state of frustration over their status that they are realising that a collective approach can bring serious opportunities for musicians as they seek to assert themselves. This can be understood as emanating from the same energy that results in musicians 'taking responsibility' because it is rooted in a sense of increased confidence, an unwillingness to continue being exploited by the culture industries and a growing sense that it is time to organise their administrative tasks more purposively and finally a will towards empowerment.

Beyond the activities of the Musicians' Union, other phenomena at the time of the research suggested that the existence of a wider process of musicians taking responsibility for their own destiny and rejecting situations which they previously were forced to accept. Another example was a collective lawsuit by a series of musicians signed to the US record label Green Linnet:

> We're taking collectively, eh, myself, Eileen Ivers, Joannie Madden, the group Altan and Cherish the Ladies are now taking action against Green Linnet for a litany of abuses against us; non-payment of royalties, unauthorised use of our music in compilations and non-payment of those unreported sales figures and a litany of other wrongs. We are finally, collectively taking action against this company and the lawsuit is currently underway against them and we are hoping that this will act as a lesson to companies like Green Linnet who represent, if you like, an echo from the bad old days. They have no place in the modern world. *(Mick Moloney)*

It's like those lads who signed the signatory in 1916; they revolted against the exploitation of Ireland by the British. I see Green Linnet as, y'know, although they championed Irish music, they were even more snide and insidious that they just filled their own pockets. You see it right now in terms of the government, they're just not, they're not, em, you know, all the time there has to be, if someone is championing something and they're not looking out for you, then there has to be, there has to be a revolution to get rid of them or else you just leave unless you're in the driving seat. But everyone has signed up to this, everybody has put their signature and what Green Linnet say is 'sue us then, if you have a problem then sue us', they know because they are withholding all the money from the musicians, they know how much money the musicians don't have, and so they say, 'you don't have any money so you can't sue us'. So now that these other bands have gone outside and have made their money without Green Linnet, they have enough where they can go, ok, and hopefully the Musicians' Union will hopefully be able to source money from, y'know, cos this is gonna continue, as long as there are ignorant musicians, there will be exploitative managers and exploitative marketers, etc, etc., etc. So its gonna set the blueprint for the way Irish musicians will be able to learn from this, 'someone's exploiting you, well this is the way that its done, this is the way you can do it, you gather together with x number of people and you do it'. So this is the way, this is a big thing that is going on here. It's a blueprint, a revolution in musical terms, it's great! *(Rossa Ó Snodaigh)*

Its kind of interesting, labels are going to fall apart in the same way that major oil companies fell apart in 73' when OPEC had that embargo and just said 'hey, all of our concessions are over, we're just going to nationalise all this oil that you're finding and you're partners with us now, you don't just give us a royalty, go fuck yourselves'. And I think that musicians say the same thing, y'know, 'you don't have anything if I don't give you music, so you gotta pony-up, you got to be a little cooler about this'. It'll even out because ultimately, when you think about it, AOL and Vivendi and BMG have infinitely more money to do this and have the business model set up, they're just adjusting right now and in the adjustment period the artists and musicians are saying 'hey, I'm not waiting for you to get your shit together, I'm going to build my empire and when you're ready to have your things in order, come back and buy me, come back for my catalogue so I can make $40million. I don't need your help right now because you don't know what you're doing'. They don't know what they're doing, they're floundering.
(Adam Dorn)

It is noteworthy to contrast the opinion of Adam Dorn who argues that we are witnessing a window of opportunity for musicians to re-group at a stage of adjustment for the record labels as opposed to Mick Moloney and Rossa Ó Snodaigh who see a 'revolution' taking

place where there is no place for exploitative labels 'in the modern world'. Whoever is right is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however, what is of note is the sense of collectivity and empowerment as musicians pull together to change their occupational landscape in a process of 'taking responsibility'. Ironically this taking responsibility throws them into the very commercial landscape, which they sought to distance themselves from in the first place and yet they all seem to feel more fulfilled as a consequence.

6.4.4 State Intervention

As opposed to the movement towards independence and collectivity, a separate discourse which emerged was that some musicians were of the viewpoint that, rather than being left to the mercy of the market, the state ought to take a greater role in providing funding for musicians to practice their trade. In this way the musicians would avoid having to participate in theory-x activities and instead devote themselves to their theory-y music making which would be of benefit to society as a whole. Note Aosdána are a self-governing community of artists who distribute annuities and tax relief provided by the state in Ireland to their members (see section 7.5.4).

> We haven't really realised that there was an onus when there is wealth, that there is actually an onus on us to do that because, particularly now, more so here than anywhere else because we are clobbered by, if you like, global marketing in a big way, if you want to preserve your own indigenous culture and traditional art making, whatever it be, then you've got to subsidise it. If you want to commercialise the whole environment, then you've got to protect the indigenous creativity to some degree to counteract that, I would argue. *(Greg Boland)*

> I think that, if you like, positive discrimination or positive intervention in relation to musicians is a good thing because you'll get great musicians, geniuses, who actually need support because, eh, what they're doing is not, is not going to earn them a crust, its not popular, they shouldn't have to do that, they should be able to

> devote their time to it. And you have, like, a small thing in existence called Aosdána which, for all the kind of, for all of Charlie Haughey's infamy, ha, in politics, one great thing he did was he created a tax relief system for artists from which Irish musicians could benefit and, eh, and for painters, artists, sculptors, whatever. This was a brilliant thing and mattered a great deal culturally to what was culture in Ireland in the last 25, 30 years. And it, the, what would you say, I don't think that the people in power, em, actually had a sufficiently wide view for it to take in musicians, eh, traditional musicians, whoever, y'know an artist is more obvious if he paints pictures or sculpted stone whereas someone kind of pottering around with music, not on a concert platform didn't stand out so in that way I think that musicians didn't get the support they deserve and I think that situation still exists. *(Donal Lunny)*

This above data can be considered as a separate discourse from that of embracing commercial realities as it wishes for the power of these realities to influence musicianship to be reduced by state intervention. In a sense this would mean that musicians would have to move from one form of dependence to another and therefore is not a form of taking responsibility.

However an important clarification that needs to be made is that in both quotations, the musicians are referring to Irish traditional music which is an inherited tradition argued by some to be in danger of being destroyed or losing its character due to market forces. Irish traditional music has existed for centuries as an oral tradition and therefore was not dependent on the market in a way that other forms of music have. Both musicians share concerns that commercialising the traditional music environment may destroy the very tradition in the process. However, in this, Irish traditional music is in a very much unique position.

In this section we have seen how musicians, empowered by new found knowledge and self-confidence and disillusioned with the excesses and incompetencies of many record labels, are moving towards 'taking responsibility' of their own careers at a time where there is a sense of change in the traditional record labels. This manifests itself in musicians either scaling down their commercial ambitions of achieving world-selling albums in the tradition of The Beatles towards a more cottage industry style business model. There is also a growing sense of collectivity marked by the collective lawsuit being taken against Green Linnet and the creation of the Musicians' Union of Ireland.

We can see that musicians are succeeding in this drive towards taking responsibility despite the bohemian, theory-y conception of musicians as exclusively creative individuals yet, ironically, in taking responsibility the musicians are finding that they can liberate themselves from the culture industry forces which traditionally has alienated the musicians from their own music. This process can be understood as musicians reclaiming their own labour and whilst not necessarily seeking to subvert the commodification of their music, the musicians can now commodify their music in a way that is consistent with their own respective balancing acts where they negotiate their artistic impulse with commercial realities.

6.5 Music in Advertising

As stated this final theme seeks to tie together all of the dynamics noted in the earlier three themes and then show how these dynamics come into play when music meets marketing in the form of music in advertising. It is important to note that the instance of

these dynamics can come into play under two distinct forms; first where the advertisers seek permission from the musician as copyright holder to use a piece of music in an advertisement (see section 3.4.2.2) and second, where musicians are contracted to produce new music to be used in an advertisement, such as compose a jingle (see ection 2.4.5.1). Whilst the same basic dynamics can be applied to both, this section treats the two processes distinctly.

6.5.1 Licensing as a Negative Practice

Almost all musicians interviewed had experience of being approached by an advertiser requesting permission to license their music. Many musicians were keen to stress that this process was initiated by the advertisers and was not a consequence of their pitching their music to advertisers. There is an irony present in that some musicians seem to, in part, justify allowing their music to be used in ads by stating that they did not actively pursue advertisers, as if it made a difference who made the first approach:

> I have (allowed music to be used in an ad), it's something I've never consciously worked on, all of those things just happened. The Progressive Building Society one that you're talking about that the weather, eh, it just came to me. They just picked the song and they didn't even know who I was, they just came to me and just sorta picked the song, someone in the ad agency just kinda wanted it and it suited what they were trying to do. *(Kieran Goss)*

> Yeah, they approached us, they gave us a call, and it's not as if we were out hawking it, y'know. *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

> So I just dipped in and out of that, you get that kinda work occasionally but it's rare that work now, you wouldn't get a lot of it, y'know. You get the odd call; you might do one or two a year. *(Patrick Collins)*

An underlying notion here is that the musicians would not like to be seen to be chasing advertising licensing deals as it carries a certain stigma. Strangely agreeing to license a deal if the advertiser requests it is presented as being more acceptable. Again this is another example of the flexibility with which musicians balance their bohemian values against commercial necessity.

For many musicians, licensing their music to advertisements is a step too far for their bohemian values and their sense of importance in their own music:

> If you talk about something like taking a piece of music that I really like that I wrote for nothing to do with product but came out of me, was something like *Inislachin* or *Queen of Cúchulainn* out of *Riverdance*, the slow air, and somebody said to me, 'can we use that to sell, y'know, DC exhausts?', well I'd sort of pause and say 'no I don't want it used for that because that's not what its meant for', and its not, the association, and as you know, you've probably studied this but people make associations with totally unrelated things. Like if you take a piece of music that is very, very, creates a certain emotion, evokes a certain response from the listener and you marry that with something totally unrelated to it like, lets say, a pint of beer, there's no connection between the two things but what you're inviting the audience to do is to take the quality feeling they take from the piece of music and marry it to the product and that's somehow dishonest. In fact it's very dishonest and that bothers me. *(Bill Whelan)*

> I've always rejected it, I think it lessens the worth of the music, it lessens the potential of the music to, eh. I mean that said I would use my music, the exception to that obviously when music would be used to advertise my own work or my music would be used to advertise my own albums or my own gigs but I'm always resistant to my music being used to sell product; to sell petrol or chemicals or fucking holidays or drink. *(Christy Moore)*

> I don't really want my songs used as part of some chewing gum ad, y'know or some disposable or crappy thing. There has to be some quality to it and it has to match, y'know, and I feel that some bands and pop bands in particular they kinda undervalue their work and you have to be proud. If you're an artist then you want to protect, it's like your child, you want to protect it but that doesn't mean that you keep it from the real world but you protect it and release it into the world when it's ready and stuff so. That all sounds very hippy and airy fairy but it's the truth and it's the truth coming from somebody who also understands the business side of music and so I feel that I've got a y'know, if somebody came up to me

> tomorrow with some cheap, tacky product and say they want a song of mine, I'd say 'no'. *(Kieran Goss)*
>
> Its about brand association, its about taking whatever integrity your music is perceived to have and associating your brand with that and its in the hope of some of that integrity reflecting on their brand and that doesn't sit well with me, y'know. *(Paul Noonan)*
>
> I just think that, I mean I suppose the reason why they want to associate the product with a certain thing, a certain belief, a certain sound and, eh, I would prefer to be able to say, 'this album I have released under my own name, call it a piece of art, I don't want it to be sidelined with any company or anything else unless, no full stop, that's it. And I don't think it should be. *(Robbie Harris)*

We can see that musicians here are expressing moral concerns over the association of their music with advertising. We can divide these moral concerns in two ways;

- A distaste for mixing their music (the sacred) with disposable consumer goods (the profane).
- Concern over the exchange value of the music being hijacked and re-directed in accordance with the desire of the advertiser resulting in a negation of the utility value of the music.

Within the first concern there is space for reflexivity as musicians may be more open to allowing music to be used in advertisements for products, which they feel are not so disposable or carry a less profane brand image. For example, Kieran Goss allowed his music to be used in an advertisement for a building society but would reject an advertisement for chewing gum. The second concern returns us to the familiar concerns of musicians relating to the commodification of their music and the resulting alienation.

6.5.2 Licensing as a Positive Practice

As opposed to the unease of the musicians in the above clips, it is important to note that some musicians did not have a problem with allowing their music to be used in advertising at all. The following are examples:

> I mean we'd never refuse to do an ad, money was money and an ad was promotion, we were being promoted, the company involved. I dare say we would have done more had we been asked but we weren't going out looking for advertising jobs but if we were asked we'd certainly do them, depending on who the company was. We didn't do too many, as I said Guinness, Budweiser, maybe National Geographic, that's about all that I can remember because we weren't too readily available. *(Martin Fay)*

> Whether it has good intentions or bad intentions, whether it has, its just, people are gonna buy feckin beer anyway so whether it's Guinness, Murphys, Heineken or whoever, if they're willing to pay you to do it, well and good. Sometimes you can take it too seriously because in 100 year's time it's not going to matter to shite anyway. Even ten minutes later it's not going to matter to shite because it's not going to make a big impact anyway, not really. *(Rossa Ó Snodaigh)*

> I wouldn't mind getting involved in all that if you get the contacts for it, ha ha, it'd be interesting if they'd do something like that, y'know. I don't know where the work is in that, y'know, where the contacts are. Because you do see a lot of jazz music in advertising or I mean hear it on radio and on TV, you do actually, you do. Em, you remember those Renault ads, Martin Taylor played that I think. He's on a few of those ads, he's had a few different ones. Yeah, I'd like to do that, why do you know of anybody? Ha ha ha ha. *(Hugh Buckley)*

Therefore, we can see that musicians are far from unified in their views on the commercial use of music in advertisements. In terms of understanding why there might be such a divergence of opinion, it is useful to return to the idea that musicians are flexible in terms of what they consider over-commercialisation. Simply stated, the above musicians do not see the instance of music in advertising as a site of ethical dilemma and therefore are not concerned about allowing their music to be used in this way. However,

we can consider the above quotations to be very much the minority position as the majority of musicians expressed concerns over allowing music to be used in this way.

6.5.3 Licensing as a Necessary Practice

For some musicians who have received offers from advertisers to use music, they found themselves obliged to accept the offer due to their financial disposition. This can result in their sense of not being in a position to make a morally informed decision which can result in shame and/or pragmatism. We can theorise that this in itself is a form of alienation as the musician becomes alienated from their music since it is appropriated by others whilst he has little or no control over its fate. Alternatively for musicians who take a pragmatic perspective, they feel that their decision was entirely appropriate for the context in which they were living and therefore they have no sense of shame. The following quotations contain examples of both perspectives:

> I think that you have to be a bit more pragmatic if you want to make your living out of being a musician. I think people who are terribly precious about what they do; it's not terribly realistic to be honest with you, if you know what I mean. The world is the world and it moves in a particular pace and if you get a job doing advertising then, oh, if you have a choice to make decisions, if you have enough money to be able to make conscious decisions as to what you would prefer to do and wouldn't do, yeah I suppose you can. But if McDonalds come along to me in my particular financial situation with family and so and so and say here's a wad of money, you're going to do it. There's no point about being a hypocrite about it, you're going to do it. I mean sure if you had the choice, you'd say no but you don't necessarily have that choice. If you have money you have choices, if you don't have money you don't. It's exactly like that for everybody I suppose.
>
> *(Patrick Collins)*

> We have sold our souls to the Devil at times when we needed to. Its insanely well paid, its obscenely well paid, I mean when you consider the money we get for putting thirty seconds of music and what it costs to make a whole record, its, y'know, its kind of, it just seems so imbalanced. So yeah, we have, em, in our dark past we've done side projects before we signed our most recent deal and we needed to make some money, a couple of us did some music for some advertising, yeah.
>
> *(Paul Noonan)*

> Probably the apex in that moment in time was when we, eh, when we wrote, eh, a Majors tobacco ad, gosh do I remember that? It was huge in the movie theatres, we used to go into the movie theatres and listen to myself guiltily, listen to this 'wake up on Sunday morning' lyric. *(Thom Moore)*

> Yeah I did on that occasion I shared Thom's somewhat uneasy feeling because back then we were permitted to advertise tobacco, cigarettes and the like. Eh, however one did so knowing full well that cigarettes caused cancer and, em, it was an occasion which was a real dilemma. I was asked by a person who I liked very much and had a lot of respect for to do the piece of music and I did it. It was my business to do so and on that particular occasion I find it impossible to say no. There were other occasions where I did say no but, ha, I never worked on those occasions I never worked with those people again. You know it was just difficult, difficult. *(Shaun Davey)*

The above quotations show that for many musicians, taking money for licensing is an unfortunate yet necessary component of being a musician typified by Patrick Collins comment; 'if you had the choice, you'd say no but you don't necessarily have that choice'. These quotations can be considered as further evidence to the concept of licensing as a negative practice for musicians.

6.5.4 Licensing as a Reflexive Practice

Whilst some of the musicians' views taken in both section 6.5.1 and section 6.5.2 appear quite dogmatic, the majority of musicians interviewed tended towards a more reflexive attitude to the use of music in advertising whereby they evaluate each offer as it arises rather than taking a singular perspective. Following the two last quotations from Shaun Davey and Thom Moore, where they described their shame over doing music for a tobacco advertisement, the following quotations show that tobacco ads seem to stand out in musicians' minds as being particularly stigmatised. Conversely, musicians often appeared more open-minded regarding allowing their music to be used for charities.

It's *Ace of Spades*

(Alan) Oh yeah, yeah

And I'm like; Lemmy has never, ever worn Clarks in his life.
(Michael McKeegan)

Similarly both Gerard Whelan and Hugh Buckley stated that they did not mind featuring in ads for Guinness as they hugely enjoy drinking it.

The product being advertised constantly emerged as a factor which would influence the musician in deciding whether or not to grant permission for a license. In many circumstances fast moving consumer goods associated with flippant consumption were seen as an unworthy place to locate the exchange value of their music. Again this is another example of the sense of importance musicians believe that their music carries and to associate their music with goods of no importance would be seen as a degradation or abuse of their music:

> I just don't like the idea of a song of mine being used to sell Mars Bars, y'know, or fucking tampons or, I just would find it a bit embarrassing.
> *(Christy Moore)*

> Particularly for someone like me who writes songs or who writes song from my own personal experience, I don't really want my songs used as part of some chewing gum ad, y'know or some disposable or crappy thing, y'know, there has to be some quality to it and it has to match, y'know, and I feel that some bands and pop bands in particular they kinda undervalue their work and you have to be proud. *(Kieran Goss)*

Conversely advertisements which sought to create a more high class and quality based exchange value were often seen as a more legitimate site for musicians to gain from. An important principle here is that the quality of advertising production can often be so high

that some musicians now see it as an aesthetic domain in itself and therefore somewhere worthy of placing their music. For example, in the first data clip Gerard Whelan explains why he had no qualms allowing Vodafone to use his music given that they had produced a high quality ad for the group the Dandy Warhols who emerged from the process not just with their integrity intact but with their profile considerably increased:

> I have to say, particularly being Vodafone because they'd used the Dandy Warhols and I'm quite close to a few of the members of that band and their crew so I think there was a bit of credibility in that kind of, eh, Vodafone. So I was very pleased to have that happen, y'know. *(Gerard Whelan)*

> Unfortunately there's so much money being thrown at marketing and advertising right now, a lot of the times when you're watching TV, the most creative things are when you're watching commercials and a lot of people would be like, 'oh bullshit', y'know, 'they're just ads'. I let them (Baileys) use the music after I saw the way they used the music in the ads and they're really cool, they're like very stylistic and very, y'know, I guess the term we use is like it's a tastemaker kind of thing: it keeps me hip because I help them be sorta cool, it's a weird sort of co-existence. Its like, y'know, you're basically shelling for a major corporation but you look cool doing it so I don't mind, y'know, ha, I need to eat, y'know, ha ha, I can be hip when I'm a little older. So yeah, particularly when you're privy to how they want to use the stuff and creative, the creative people are working with you, you know, that's amazing because then you're actually making something together so I don't mind that. I like that a lot actually. *(Adam Dorn)*

> If you're an artist then you want to protect, it's like your child, you want to protect it but that doesn't mean that you keep it from the real world but you protect it and release it into the world when it's ready and stuff so. That all sounds very hippy and airy fairy but it's the truth and it's the truth coming from somebody who also understands the business side of music and so I feel that I've got a y'know, if somebody came up to me tomorrow with some cheap, tacky product and say they want a song of mine, I'd say 'no'. But if, on the other hand, if it works and it's tastefully done and you kinda get the feeling that the integrity of your own work is being protected, then you do it. It's hard to describe, it's an instinct. Like U2 don't really get their music used at all in advertising but the Rolling Stones do. It really depends and it's for each artist to decide for themselves... the Progressive Building Society one that you mentioned to me worked, they had an idea, the creative, the art work that they came up with, you could see why they wanted a bright, breezy song to go with it. It wasn't just a way of copping in on a hit, like 'oh we're away, someone has a hit', y'know.
> *(Kieran Goss)*

> I think it depends really on the piece of music and the context. Obviously when you are selling something you're involved in a totally commercial act there, that's why it's called a commercial, y'know, ha ha. But some people do manage to perform some artistic things within that format, y'know. In terms of Pop Art, you can't say that the advertising and the whole commercial with the visuals and music and all that is necessarily excluded from being Pop Art in the same way as y'know, Andy Warhol's paintings reflect that. There is some of it, I mean most of it is crap, but there are some examples where people have actually achieved either visually or musically or both some level of artistry within that medium. I don't think that when they are doing that they are particularly thinking about whether this is going to sell more baked beans or less baked beans, I think they are just, more or less, doing what they do which is making music or pictures or whatever.
>
> *(Greg Boland)*

Finally a moral imperative for licensing music was identified by Adam Dorn who described licensing as an excellent site for raising money for charities of his choice:

> If you know you can do a half million dollar deal and give $300,000 to a charity, well I don't care how everybody else looks at that, that's my business, y'know, if they think that's a cheesy sell-out move, well its not a cheesy sell-out move if you help cure a disease or if you keep, if you put three families in a home or whatever. So there's interesting things about what is that balance. That balance is a very personal thing, you know what I mean? It's like what you see on the, what you perceive on the surface might not actually be the reality, you know what I mean? I guess what I'm trying to say for me is that I guess I'm trying to keep it pretty cool. *(Adam Dorn)*

In the above quotations we can see that there are a high number of issues that can influence a musician's decision whether or not to accept a licensing offer. Rather than the musicians quoted earlier who tended to either accept or reject all offers, these musicians take a much more reflexive approach and consider each offer on its own merits.

6.5.5 Licensing as Taking Responsibility

Section 6.4 described the phenomenon of musicians learning to assert themselves in a more empowered way within the culture industries by taking responsibility for their own

administration. This process was partly marked by musicians releasing their own music and then managing it themselves. It is interesting to note how licensing can tie into this process.

For certain musicians who operate independently of the traditional record label market or whose music is marginalised from the conventional mechanisms of the culture industry and therefore exists as a 'cottage industry', licensing was one of the very few ways they could succeed in getting their music heard by a wider audience:

> If I was the Doors, I would be upset that my music was only being used for commercials but I'm me, I'm 30 years younger than those guys and there's no outlet for my music to get heard by people so this is the main outlet, licensing for TV and commercials and film. *(Adam Dorn)*

> What it did actually, the (Vodafone) campaign, because I knew the campaign inside out, I knew what was going to happen, when it was going to happen basically and, eh, it wasn't a huge campaign, it was for a small period of time and I capitalised on that and I think what it did do was it gave a story to sell the song to radio and radio is vital to breaking your music. Eh, once the DJ plays it, then the public takes over and then came the actual true response to the record. If it was crap it wouldn't matter what ad it was on, y'know, I think it was just a great kick-off point because I'm an independent label, y'know, I don't have the shackles of a major to kind of poster the town with loads of posters and kind of push the record in every way like that. So I needed something like that so it was really a stroke of luck, definitely, but I think now the song has its own feet which I think is great. *(Gerard Whelan)*

> In our position, our music being in commercials means that it's a chance for people to hear it, who wouldn't otherwise hear it, so rather than us being big enough so that people would know our music anyway. So I mean it's very much having to do with having a chance to have your music played on television or playing on the radio or whatever it would be. *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

Not only will having music in advertisements allow musicians an opportunity to gain a wider exposure, but also it provides them with an alternative source of income which can

be used to subsidise their independence. As noted in section 6.3, often musicians have found that creative control is a function of financial control, therefore, any mechanism which allows them access to cash allows them to subsidise their creative control. This is another instance of the irony whereby the musicians can gain further distance from the materialist, theory-x world by exactly embracing that world:

> I suppose the main issue for us these days and the thing that actually buys us our independence is the fact that we are financially independent. That's the bottom line and that's what makes us different from other people, y'know, who are basically financed by record companies and it means that we can make our own decisions, we don't have to basically give away our assets, or part of them or part of our future assets. So to be able to finance tours in America or Australia, that we've actually had we've been able to gain enough money and balance numbers in such a way that we've been able to break into new markets, for want of a better word, that we've been able to do America and Australia and widen the net that way. So I think the ad thing, y'know, was a pretty straight forward arrangement where we said 'lets see what they're offering us', they were offering us ten grand or whatever it was to, for ten seconds or twenty of our music and, eh, if not a beer commercial, that will pay for our flights to America and Australia. So it's kinda, you see things on those terms, ha, ha, y'know. So I think artists and musicians who would be cynical about using music for advertisements, for us its been quite straightforward, em, as regards seeing where the gains might turn out to be, as regards air miles around the world and also the fact that its exposing people to our music without them having to actually, basically people are hearing our music by-passing the idea of it being the Frames or not being the Frames, y'know, because there's nothing, there's nothing harder than to alter people's opinions of you if they get kind of, if the concrete sets in 95' or 94' or whenever, it can take eight to ten years before people will actually come around and listen to one of your records again, y'know. *(Colm MacConlamaire)*

> Oy! It's a really tough road because you have to understand when you're at the plateau, ha, plateau – I shouldn't use that word – but when you're at the level of selling records that I'm at, its, I don't want to say that you'll sell your soul but you're open to a lot of things with the thought of, 'if I let my music be used these ways a couple of times, that empowers me to..', my thing is all about the right kind of licensing and film usage, pays me to keep making music and put a little money aside to take care of my expenses. So basically each time you do a license or you do something, it raises your profile, it raises the profile of your publishing. I own all my publishing, I don't let anyone, no one can buy it, y'know, so I have a lot of control over how my stuff is used but I'm pretty liberal. I will let you use my music, y'know, if you don't use it in a really stupid way, y'know. So I guess the balance is I'm making money to continue doing work which is what I want to

> do and the more money I make, I think, and this kind of weird in people's minds I think, but the more money I make the more power and freedom I have as to who can use what and in what circumstances. It's weird. So I guess if you are constantly keeping an eye on how the stuff is getting used you can say 'alright, I'm into this and this is going to enable me to…', or I can say 'hey I'm going to take four months off so I can write a piece for a string quartet or I can…', you know what I mean its, you kinda play both sides so you can achieve your ultimate goals. *(Adam Dorn)*

> Somebody's got to pay the rent, and I think it's very cut and dry for me, I'm an independent record label and survival has to be my instinct.
> *(Gerard Whelan)*

These quotations are goood examples of musicians taking responsibility of their career by embracing that which is supposedly against conventional bohemian values. For musicians who are seeking independence, licensing allows two huge benefits; it allows them an excellent source of air-play within the mass media which can encourage radio stations to play their music (as happened with Gerard Whelan) and it can provide a significant source of income which can subsidise the musician's independence (as in the case of Adam Dorn). Rather than a sell-out, using licensing to take control of their careers is a very powerful mechanism which, to quote Adam Dorn, allows them to 'achieve your ultimate goals'.

6.5.6 Producing Music for Advertisements

A very similar phenomenon to licensing music for advertisements is composing or play original music for advertisements. For session musicians performing music for advertisements is a typical day's work which is barely different from other jobs:

> Oh playing for a commercial advertisement, oh yeah, yeah, loads of them. I don't mind, the music that I play or any musician records, em, you're entitled to use it wherever you want and any musician would be proud to have it used wherever you want. It depends what it is, it depends whether you composed the tune of blah, blah, blah or whether you give permission, that sort of thing. But you're entitled to have it played wherever you want and you sign contracts allowing

> people to play it wherever they want, but you get paid for it. So there is a wage to do with that. I would come to you and say 'I want to use your piece of music in an advert but I will pay you for that privilege'. That's just unquestioning, you just get paid for the privilege and of course you'll say yes. It depends on your frame of mind, if you are so artistic that you don't allow your music to be played in adverts or things like that, then that's your prerogative, y'know, then keep that to yourself, that's fine if you don't want your music. Personally speaking anything that I play can be used anywhere else but if you do use it anywhere else and I'm entitled to a fee, I expect to be paid. *(Karl Ronan)*

> I've played on loads and loads of them down through the years. Like, eh, say particularly back in the late 70s to the mid 80s there was a lot of work doing that kind of thing, em, playing on ads and it was a seasonal kind of thing. I mean you could end up doing two or three a day when you got really busy, you know it was like the classic session man thing where you were running around from studio to studio doing an ad. *(Greg Boland)*

> As a session musician, if somebody said to me, said 'there's a recording job for a jingle', I mean I'll take any recording gig, y'know. Sometimes you don't even know what they're being used for. *(Robbie Harris)*

> I did a lot of stuff like Guinness and Harp and Smithwicks, a lot of beer commercials and y'know, em, worked, ah it was kind of, the thing about commercials was that there was relative to anything else you might do in music in Ireland at the time, it was relatively well paid so you could do one commercial and make more doing one commercial then you would in a couple of months of sitting in the pits somewhere, y'know. *(Bill Whelan)*

For session musicians, then, playing music for advertisements is such a typical part of their occupation that it simply is not an activity that they spend much time thinking about. Rather it is such a basic component of the session musician's labour that he just performs it without expending much thought on wider questions of morality.

Some musicians considered playing music for advertising to be an excellent opportunity for learning the craft of arrangement and of being a professional musician:

> They were kind of educational things too because they were like mini-pop songs so you'd learn a bit of craft from them. *(Greg Boland)*

> I think that its like you're given a puzzle, your clients are giving you a puzzle and somebody making an ad, they say, 'look this is what we want to say and we need something to spark it there and we need something to change it half way through and we need rhythm in it' and you have all these factors in it and you put them all together and its like doing a crossword puzzle, it's a puzzle and a big musical brain can handle that and come up with, y'know, what it should be, but it was more of a challenge in the past because now you can take a piece of music and speed it up without changing the pitch or you can change the pitch without speeding it up, y'know, so you can take a piece of music there and kind of stitch it up. Years ago that just was not possible, you had to land bang and so there was more skill involved so it was kind of a challenge and the best ads had the best brains so there was a lot of brilliant people involved. *(Donal Lunny)*

> I was extremely grateful to the people who employed me because it enabled me to stay afloat financially while still working in theatre music and developing techniques and working with studio musicians and learning all about recording, learning about the importance of melody and the importance of writing music that's memorable, em, it was a great training ground and no regrets... I find that if you do music for film, ha, it's like every film job is like doing about a hundred separate commercials because each 30 second piece of commercial, or however long it lasts, is extremely and entirely critical to the film at that particular moment so you end up writing a series of very critically judged pieces of music. It's where your own creative process has to be harnessed and disciplined within someone else's conception and has to operate within a multi-media, em, product. I'm sorry this is a very convoluted way of saying that you have to make the music fit the film and so everything I learnt from doing commercials prepared me for this of course, when you are working with other people you have to conduct yourself in a certain way and you have to ultimately not only please them but you also have to please yourself within the confines of the job and that's really part of the process. *(Shaun Davey)*

In these cases the musicians found the experience of composing and playing for advertisements to be very educational and provided the grounds for their professional development. In the last quote we can see that not only did producing music for advertisements give Shaun Davey a grounding where he could learn compositional techniques, but it also funded his career as a musician which is reminiscent of the theme of licensing as a means of taking responsibility for an independent career. However, not all musicians were convinced of the value of producing music for advertisements (note

this musician requested that this particular opinion be kept anonymous for fear of offending colleagues who produce music for advertisements):

> I think I developed an attitude towards advertising when I was in the art college because I was into graphic design and that would have been the most obvious destination for me, in an ad agency and, whatever else I learnt in the College of Art and Design, or didn't, I acquired an awareness of what, I suppose, constitutes art, the meaning of artistic integrity, em, y'know, em, and the amount of compromise involved in being involved in something like advertising where as a musician, people want 29 seconds of music and that has to go there and that has to go there *and* someone has to talk over it, middle, 22 seconds, y'know, ha, until you get used to it, its heartbreaking, y'know, you have to accept all these things, you have to accept that its going to be used like a carpet so you're chosen because you actually have talent, you have something good to bring but its kind of used like wallpaper or carpet for a secondary purpose and it's a kind of, y'know, oily voice telling you to buy a particular brand of soap powder or whatever it is, y'know. You get people who earn their living by putting words together in a way that somehow implies that there's something extra along with it was, music is enhancing this. Y'know like in the world of advertising it's a matter of them buying the best of everything available, the best thinkers, best artists, best camera men, all that which I always thought there was a kind of ironic, that ads are such a disposable thing, they're such a part of fashion. I mean if you look at an ad that's 20 years old, its twee and sort of uncomfortable and dated and, like, stupid and so nailed to that moment of fashion and what people were into that it looks like a caricature. So ads are not built to last. I'm interested in music that lasts and ads are disposable, expendable so you might come up with a great idea and you might make loads of money out of it but it's gone down the toilet before you know it; it's gone out with last week's newspaper. So its, I think, is a potential waste of a good idea. *(Anonymous)*

> It's not fun to write for commercials, and I'll tell you why. You always write music for someone who's thinking about what, they hire you because they heard something, but they want you to do something other that what you do. That's the number one complaint that I have with people that hire musicians to do music for adverts. They don't understand that, like, 'I like your album, its fun so that means you must be able to do this orchestral piece of music that I need' ha ha. Most of the time they are so clueless musically wise. *(Adam Dorn)*

> In fact one of the biggest tensions between myself and the members of the Johnstons, we had a difference of opinion on it when we were asked to do commercials in England. And, eh, ha ha, I'll never forget it, the line we supposed to sing or the little jingle, it was 'We'd like you to meet the Snap, Crackle, Poppers, We'd like you to meet the Snap, Crackle, Poppers, We'd like you to meet the Snap, Crackle, Poppers, That eats Snap, Crackle, Pop Rice Crispies'. And I knew that I would throw up if I was going to record that. I wouldn't do it.

> But other members of the group were saying that it was a legitimate opportunity to make money and, y'know, you have to do things that you don't like sometimes. But that was over the limit, over the top for me and I couldn't do it and other members of the group decided that they could. That was fine but I couldn't and it nearly broke us up, on that issue so I never did get involved in doing commercials. *(Mick Moloney)*

We can see that the reasons why the musicians dislike this form of work vary; for Anonymous it was because the music would become disposable and not exist as an autonomous piece of art, for Adam Dorn it is out of a sense of frustration with the advertising personnel and their lack of musical knowledge and for Mick Moloney it was a sense of humiliation in having to associate his music-making with a fast moving consumer good and trite advertising message.

For the most part musicians were able to practice the division of their work (see section 6.3.2) whereby they divide their aesthetic work and their commercial work. Given that from the outset producing music for advertisements was an overtly commercial task and that the music in question was created especially for the advertisement, they did not feel that the music itself was being compromised by appearing in an ad. Therefore, they did not see the perceived loss of credibility that would arise when an existing piece of music was licensed to an advertisement. Also as can be noted in the first quote below, composing for advertisements can be a very creative and satisfying endeavour in its own right:

> If I'm writing a piece of music for an advert, lets say someone said to me, 'we're doing an advert for Kerrygold and these are the images', I would take that seriously if I took the job on and write a piece of music that I believe works with those images and I've done that many times. I've, oh I remember there was a very nice commercial made for Allied Irish Banks which was a, oh it was years

ago but it was a big orchestra, I had a big budget and I really sort of got down and looked at the images and wrote a piece of music that I felt worked very well. I did a thing for Budweiser where I did six commercials for American television using traditional musicians and in fact, y'know all sorts of people who were not famous at the time, em, came in and played on it and that was deliberately tailored for the images that were to be used and y'know I was very happy with that. But if you talk about something like taking a piece of music that I really like that I wrote for nothing to do with product but came out of me, was something like *Inislachin* or *Queen of Cúchulainn* out of *Riverdance*, the slow air, and somebody said to me, 'can we use that to sell, y'know, DC exhausts?', well I'd sort of pause and say 'no I don't want it used for that because that's not what its meant for', and its not, the association, and as you know, you've probably studied this but people make associations with totally unrelated things. Like if you take a piece of music that creates a certain emotion, evokes a certain response from the listener and you marry that with something totally unrelated to it like, lets say, a pint of beer, there's no connection between the two things but what you're inviting the audience to do is to take the quality feeling they take from the piece of music and marry it to the product and that's somehow dishonest. In fact it's very dishonest and that bothers me, y'know. I don't see that's what you should do, I feel that if you write a piece of music for a commercial, you should write it to the images and see what you can do and if you write the music, and I did, and I took it seriously and I tried to make it work with the thing and if people wanted to make the connection, well fine, that's what I want them to do, it was made for that.

(Bill Whelan)

I'd rather write a song specifically for it and not associate a song which is written about a very personal subject with hey, hey, lets drink shots of Jagermeister in it. Its how you do it and if they said 'look, we're gonna give you twenty grand for it', I'd rather spend half of that rehearsing and recording a new song for it and giving it to them so its something special as opposed to just going ker-ching, yeah whatever. *(Michael McKeegan)*

I personally have a problem with selling a piece of art for money and I suppose there's a fine line, if somebody was to phone me up and say 'I want you to play bodhrán, it's only a minute and a half or fucken some percussion, and it's for an ad', I will do that. But if somebody wants me to sell them a piece of music I've written to promote Adidas, I wouldn't be up for that.

(Robbie Harris)

We can understand the above data using the same tools of analysis as for the licensing of music; just as in licensing, producing music for advertisements was seen by some musicians as a very worthwhile practice which did not raise questions of morality and musician integrity. For others it was a debasement of music and a waste of artistic talent.

Just as in licensing, to a large extent musicians had formed reflexive attitudes towards music in advertising, keeping an open mind especially when they felt that the specific context carried some degree of artistic validity and also when the cash raised as a consequence would help to subsidise their careers.

For two musicians interviewed, producing and composing music for advertisements was not an endeavour which they wished to pursue for their entire career and was something that they sought to remove themselves from:

> I just became exhausted with them, I did so many of them and I decided that I wasn't going to do them, it was part of the decision making that I did in the late 1980s, that I was not going to do anything except to write my own music, out of my own head, for my own reasons, y'know, that I wasn't going to take commissions to marry music to images of people drinking beer, em, that was a decision. And it served me well and reasonably well and gave me some money when it was there but then I had enough of it. *(Bill Whelan)*

> After a period of about five years I felt that it was up to me to try and do something unique or at least individual and as I say, that lead to me knuckling down and writing the Brendan Voyage. *(Shaun Davey)*

These quotations are particularly useful because they show how the two composers, Bill Whelan and Shaun Davey used advertising as a means of not just subsidising their careers as musicians but also as a means of gaining experience of writing for orchestra and film, skills which came to define their latter careers. Without using advertisements in this way, it is doubtful whether either musician could have achieved their goals as musicians. However as soon as they had established themselves outside of advertising, they never returned to composing advertisements. This suggests that despite the fact that working in

advertising advanced their careers, ultimately their experiences as composers for advertisements left them artistically unfulfilled.

6.5.7 Reflections on Music and Advertising

Within this theme of music and advertising we can see how it ties together a number of important research issues that emerged within the data. The discourses of advertising as belonging to a theory-x world which was not the domain of musicians and in fact a compromise of their musician integrity was certainly present as was the ironic phenomenon of musicians gaining greater theory-y style freedom by embracing theory-x style labour. Alienation was also a present discourse, particularly in the musicians who had a sense of shame after their music was used in advertisements, also in those composers who sought to move their career away from producing music for advertisements. Finally we can see how the drive towards 'taking responsibility' manifests itself in a sometimes higher willingness on the parts of musicians to take advantage of the opportunities offered in associating their music with advertising in order to sustain their career independence and achieve their artistic goals. All in all, the data shows the huge range of complexities that musicians consider when music and marketing are put together.

6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter produced three major data themes as well as an umbrella theme. The first theme considered the reproduction of theory-x and theory-y mythologies in how musicians understood their own careers and lives. The section noted how often this self-conception was based on a perception of the other and of the supposedly 'real world'. As

a consequence of this mythology, it was observed how some musicians sought to abdicate their administrative tasks whilst others felt the need to embrace those same tasks. What emerged was a complex and often ironic balancing act whereby musicians sought to balance the time and energy expended on creative and administrative tasks and also to balance their artistic and commercial instincts when producing music.

The following section consideres how musicians often felt a sense of alienation due to the commodification of their music. Similar to how musicians defined themselves as being of a theory-y orientation from observing others, this section observes how musicians gained a sense of non-commercial integrity in their music from observing other musicians who do engage in commerce and reflecting that those musicians play 'a different sport to what we do'. This raised the question, if musicians were not producing music intently for commodity exchange then why do they produce music? To answer, the section divided musicians between those who produced music as an end in itself and those who produce music in order to share a profound aesthetic response with their audience. The section also noted the great sense of importance that some musicians hold music to have in society at ideological and metaphysical levels as well as noting the minor rebellions that musicians sometimes carried out in protest to the commodification of their music.

The third theme noted the trend towards musicians taking more responsibility for their administrative tasks despite their theory-y self-conception. For some musicians this follows a realisation that their musical copyright is a valuable asset which they can exploit without the support of a record label, leading them to scale-back their career

aspirations as they embrace independence and a 'cottage industry' model of production. It was noted that there was a collective sense of upward mobility from musicians as, perhaps sensing the decline of the music industry in its current form, they engage in a number of bullish activities marked by the creation of the Musicians' Union of Ireland and the collective law suit taken against the record label Green Linnet. As opposed to this trend towards independence, the wish of musicians for greater state intervention in the music industry was also considered.

Finally the music in advertising theme commenced by considering the process of licensing music. It was noted that there was diversity amongst musicians as some saw licensing as a negative practice, a positive practice, a necessary practice and also as a reflexive practice where musicians would consider licensing on an ad-per-ad basis, in many cases using the process as a means towards funding their independence and general process of taking responsibility. The occupation of producing original music for advertisements was also considered.

The following final chapter attempts to contextualise this chapter's data analysis within the overall thesis and commences the process of theorising the musician in the commodification process.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis in a number of ways. First the limitations of the study are considered as they relate to the design of the methodology as well as the overall research strategy. Second, the thesis is considered alongside the existing body of research, which have considered the musicians in order to establish the points of divergence between this study's research findings and the findings of studies that have gone before. Third, a theoretical structure to the research findings is applied which leads to the development of the Sacred Code of Musicianship. Last the implications of this thesis for some the various research constituents including musicians, the music industry as well as other academics are presented.

As outlined in the introduction, this dissertation has been based upon the framework outlined by Holt (2004), in which he systematised a sensitising theory conversation as informing a mid-range theory conversation. This conversation allows us to form the research question which was 'why are some musicians uneasy with the commodification of their music?' Locating the study within the mid-range theory conversation allows this dissertation to choose the appropriate research design, which was taken to be an interactionist framework based on indepth-interviews with musicians. The conversation between the grand theory and empirical research has been outlined throughout the literature review, most notably in chapter five. Now it is time to conclude the dissertation by contributing to that conversation by introducing the empirical research analysed in

chapter six. This conversation takes the form of applying the research data to some of the existing research frameworks outlined in this dissertation in order to see the degree of 'fit' and how this data can help us move beyond those existing frameworks and finally move towards the creation of a new framework, which is presented.

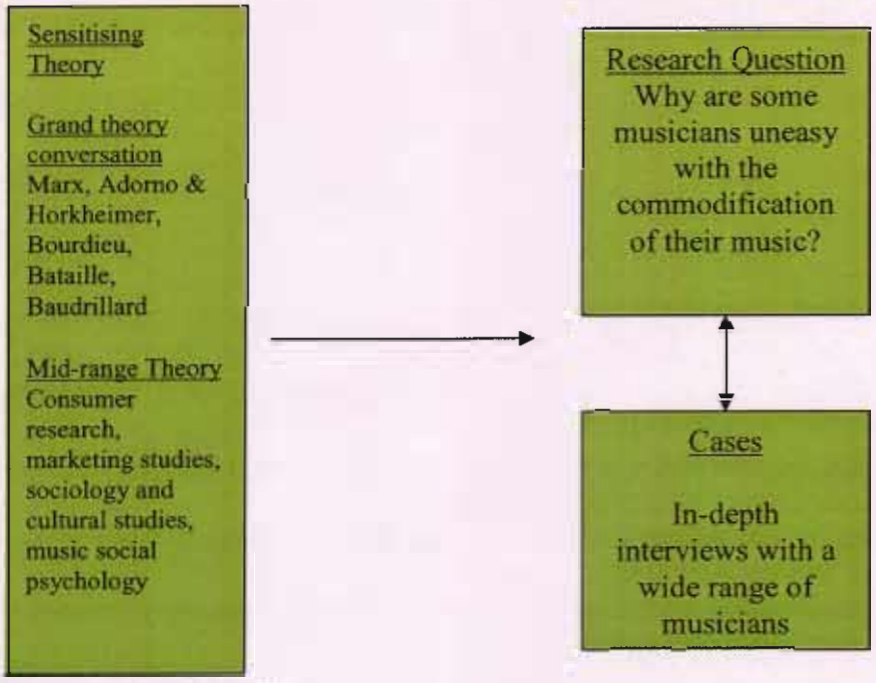

Figure 18 Adapted Framework

7.2 *Limits of the Study*

As stated in chapter five, the limitations of the methodology are considered holistically alongside the more general limitations of the overall thesis. This reflects the viewpoint that limitations to the methodology are necessarily limitations of the entire study and should be treated as such.

By no standards does this work represent a definitive study into the wider forces affecting art and commerce. Instead, as was outlined in the introduction to the thesis, the challenge

was to narrow the research focus so to allow for a greater degree of specification and concentration necessary for understanding a complex dialectic. This has facilitated insight into the professional lives of musicians, but in doing so opportunities to gain from potential research areas have been somewhat restricted. This section considers the limitations which have arisen from these strategic decisions.

A defining aspect of this study has been the focus on musicians. Whilst it should be noted that musicians constitute a significant part of the music industry, a limitation of the research for some is that the perspectives of other employees of the cultural industries and consumers have not been considered. Indeed embracing these perspectives, it could be argued, would permit a wider understanding of the phenomenon in future work instead of just relying on the viewpoints of musicians. This could yield insight on some points of conflict between how different interest groups understand the same event and explore these differences further.

Nonetheless it is submitted that the research focus on musicians has provided an excellent site for considering the commodification of music which is a crux of the research question. As Frith (1991) has argued, a methodological trap that studies of the music industry fall into is reproducing the David versus Goliath mythology. However, by maintaining the focus on musicians this research has demonstrated how they often engage in administrative tasks. Therefore, the research focus has allowed for a far more holistic and in-depth perspective of the musician than was previously the case in the extant literature and thus moves scholarship away from traditional musician conceptions.

Having limited the study to musicians, a second important decision was not to consider music as belonging to separate genres and instead to consider all different musicians as effectively engaged in the same profession. As noted in section 3.4, the development of the music industry was marked by creating different target markets originally by ethnicity. This has resulted in the development of what are regarded to be pseudo-genres, such as World Music (as considered in section 3.4) and therefore we can consider the genrefication of the music industry as being part of the commodification process. Therefore as this dissertation is a study of commodification and also in following the general Adorno-inspired nature of the research, all musicians were subjected to the same methodological questions in order not to fetishise different styles of music. Given the centrality of fetishisation in the Adornian approach (see Adorno, 2002a) the author submits that the decision was highly appropriate for this study.

A separate limitation arises in the selection of grand theorists in chapter one. In total the ideas of nine grand theorists were presented. From the outset a decision was made to limit the grand theorists to those belonging to a broadly post-Marxist tradition in line with the research focus on commodification. This meant excluding the viewpoints of other important theorists and philosophers who have strongly contributed to our understanding of the role of music and aesthetics but who fall outside of the post-Marxist tradition such as Kant, Schopenhauer, Baudelaire and Aristotle. Indeed given the existence of a huge body of philosophy and theory, it obviously is not possible to consider them all within a singular conversation. However despite this, the post-Marxist tradition was selected as

being not just the most relevant, as it includes contributions from figures such as Adorno and Baudrillard who dealt specifically with the commodification of culture, but also the most timely as it allows the research to tie into the new level of interest within marketing for critical theory. The latter has been recently marked by the creation of a series of seminars on critical marketing (Saren, 2004) within the United Kingdom and parallels works on critical management studies.

Furthermore even though one might argue that within the post-Marxist conversation there are important and influential theorists conspicuous by their absence such as Benjamin, Durkheim, Habermas and Gramsci this author feels justified in this action. Part of the reason for this is because the presentation of the selected nine theorists was considered to be sufficient and there was a risk that continuously debating the inclusion of many authors would make this thesis unworkable. To this end the author did not risk that the conversation would become dominated by the members of the Frankfurt School. Adorno & Horkheimer were taken as representative of this school partly because first, they were the most relevant writers on the specific research topic at hand and second, because they were, as directors of the institute, arguably the two most important characters within the institute. One might say that the other authors are indeed present in their absence as the chosen authors will have reacted to their works over the course of history. Finally it is suggested that the regrettable exclusion of important grand theorists is an inescapable problem experienced by all researchers typified in Holt's ironic statement at the Classic Canon of Consumer Theory Seminar; 'Everybody should read Hegel, I never did but I should!' (Holt, 2004). Despite this it is argued that in following Holt's framework, this

research has adopted a far more systematic selection of grand theorists rather than privileging the author's favourite theorist or whoever happens to be in vogue.

An inevitable limitation of any study is that in earlier interviews, interviewing techniques were not as well practiced and this researcher found it easier to build a rapport with the interviewees and let the interviews flow as the study progressed. To counter early concerns that this would distort the outcome of the interviews, musicians were given a transcript of the interviews if they wished to make further comment or points or clarifications. In any case as the approach was to 'bottom-out' the research issues or interview until repetition or saturation, the research design protected itself against missing important issues.

Finally, a genuine regret is that the historical section, whilst making a telling contribution takes such a restricted role within the dissertation and, due to space constraints, was not as substantial as perhaps it deserved to be. The more that was learnt about the historical dimension and in particular nineteenth century values, the more it became evident that this was central to the dissertation itself yet due to the overall framework of the research, which was rigorously followed, the historicisation is perhaps denied its rightful importance and arguably deserves to be the object of the research itself. This might again be a separate thesis for another researcher. As such, the research would then be a very different type of study and the possibility remains to make this historicisation a future study. As the historicisation stands, it makes a very useful and important contribution to the dissertation.

This chapter now returns to the central purpose of the chapter, which is to theorise the findings as presented below. First by considering the study in conversation.

7.3 The Study in Conversation

In line with Holt's framework, the object of this study is to stand in conversation with other studies so to understand its contribution.

First the research considers the framework developed by Griff (1960) (see Table 9) whereby he divided the role of artistic production into three distinctive camps; the traditional role – where the artist works commercially and identifies himself as a fine artist, the commercial role where the artists works in commercial art and sees both commercial art and fine art as utilitarian and finally the compromise role where the artist works within a commercial process but is an active agent seeking creative space. The idea of clear distinctions was also present in Kubacki & Croft's research (2004), whereby they divided musicians into two camps; 'Artists' who perform or compose music 'only because they felt that they had to do it' and ignore and distance themselves from music understood as a business (pp585) and second, 'promoters' who have a 'more open attitude towards marketing, not only in the promotion of music, but also in the use of music in marketing' (pp586). Kubacki & Croft found a 'clear binary divide' between musicians belonging to these two camps and that musicians were 'roughly evenly split in their beliefs' (pp585).

As distinct from these studies the data presented in this research does not lend itself to clear binary divisions of musician ontology, rather it presents musicians in a constant state of negotiation between conflicting understandings of what their identity as a musician is. This has constantly led to contradictory actions as musicians seek to develop their creative distance from the pressures of the culture industry by exactly embracing those same conditions. The present study's data was most reconciled to the 'compromise role' described by Griff whereby musicians are engaged in a constant power relationship with their employer. However, it should be noted that there has been a growth in free-lance and independent work since the 1960s (when Griff wrote his studies) and indeed this has been reflected in the growth in independence of musicians, as noted in the data analysis. Therefore the relationship is often displaced away from artist and employer towards artist and the market. Even then, however, this 'compromise role' does not capture the complexities at stake as it takes artists on a 'crusade' to put art into commerce whereby the artist has no discernable sense of guilt regarding their production of commercial art but rather a frustration over the lack of opportunities they have to develop their art within their context. As opposed to this the data presented here gives strong evidence of a large sense of alienation from within the musician community regarding the commodification of their music. This criticism holds equally for Steinert's (2003) conceptualisation of artists as developing 'working alliances' with which to negotiate the 'fundamental contradictions of art (see Table 11). Again the fixed nature of musician identity is distinct from the evidence presented here of musicians in a constant state of negotiation. Therefore, one conclusion is that understanding the realities of the musician

is not best served by seeking to create a framework where different approaches are distinguished between but rather a move towards a more complex take on reality.

Perhaps closer to the present study is Cottrell's (2002) research into professional London musicians and how they negotiate between conflicting roles of the musician and how the manner in which they try to resolve this conflict creates and sustains their self-conception in the wider world. Cottrell's study leads to the development of his typography (see section 3.4.5) in which musical capital was plotted against economic capital. In this understanding, the musician is constantly seeking to work in projects which deliver the highest range of musical capital – taken to mean the desirability from the musician's point of view of their participation in the event as well as its value to them as they seek to establish a reputation and profile for undertaking particular types of work within their professional world' (pp70). With this in mind, the musician will categorically take work where there is low musical capital but high economic capital and this is with the intention of building their reputation within the music art-world and provide the necessary economic security to explore high musical capital projects. This concept is very much supported by the data presented here as indeed it shows musicians taking on work with high economic capital in order to sustain their idealised career producing what they take to be more legitimate art.

However, the point of deviation from Cottrell's study is that the concept of musical capital, which in itself was developed from Bourdieu's cultural capital (see section 1.4.2) which takes music as purely carrying exchange value and the desirability of engaging in

certain musical projects is therefore to improve the musician's sense of worth within their habitus, which Bourdieu took to be 'the internalised form of class condition and of the conditionings it entails' (Bourdieu, 1984:pp101). As opposed to this, this dissertation has shown that musicians carry a deep sense of alienation over their music holding exchange value. In expressing their own musical desire, they regard the possibility of producing music that can lead to a profound aesthetic experience for the listeners or the production of music as an end in itself as their primary goals and both of these goals, it is argued, can be regarded as holding utility or expenditure value. Whilst the data does not provide grounds for dismissing the idea that musicians do engage themselves with negotiating their identity within their habitus, it does call for a more complex conceptualisation. The following section illustrates how the present study contributes to the knowledge and introduces the concept of the Sacred Code of Musicianship.

7.4 Applying a Theoretical Structure

Throughout this dissertation the relationship between art and commerce and between music and marketing has taken a dialectical form, both shaping and being shaped by the other. As noted in section 1.5.6, this relationship has been interpreted by the writer Thomas Mann (1999) as a manifestation of the relationship between what is good and evil, between heaven and hell. For musicians to progress their careers they must abandon age-old conceptions of what is a moral way to regard music and instead move towards the supposedly immoral and in this, driven by necessity, their main weapon is their creative thought as they learn to see conventional moralistic thought as repressive. Drawing the analogy to an extreme, we can see musicians engaging with the world of

marketing as a kind of Faustian pact. In conceptualising the processes at play, this section takes inspiration from the Adorno-inspired *Dr Faustus – the Life of the German Composer Adrian Leverkuhn as Told by his Friend* by Thomas Mann (1999) which tells the story of a composer who sells his soul to the Devil and also the poetry of William Blake and specifically his seminal work *The Wedding of Heaven and Hell* (2004).

7.4.1 The Sacred Code of Musicianship

In terms of generalising the data findings we can see that for musicians there is a bohemian ideology which implies a form of what I now refer to as the Sacred Code of Musicianship. This code, which draws from bohemian ideology demands that musicians devote themselves to a life of artistic integrity best realised by poverty and an abstention from the benefits of materialist culture. Whereas the bohemian ideology is primarly grounded in market relations: as Steinert argues it can be understood as a clash between the cultured classes and the monied classes (Steinert, 2003) or for Bourdieu as a clash between the holders of economic capital versus cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984), the Sacred Code of Musicianship seeks to move beyond relationships which can be understood exclusively within the market. Therefore the purpose of this code is to stress its *sacred* dimension. Sacred was defined by the consumer odyssey (Belk et al., 1989) as emanating from 'a need to believe in something significantly more powerful and extraordinary than the self – a need to transcend existence as a mere biological being coping with the everyday world' (pp2). A second major element of the sacred is the sense of *goodness* and *sin* associated with it. Examples in the data of musicians' sense of

goodness are to be found in section 6.3.3 and examples of musicians' sense of sin can be found in section 6.5.1. This sense of morality is now explored.

The Sacred Code of Musicianship implies the heavenly condition which remains close to the spirit of self-denial, consider for example Blake's (2004) imagined conversation with the Prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah:

> I also asked Isaiah what made him go naked and barefoot three years. He answered, "The same that made our friend Diogenes the Grecian". I then asked Ezekiel why he ate dung, and lay so long on his right and left side. He answered, the desire of raising other men into a perception of the infinite. This the North American tribes practise. And is he honest who resists his genius or conscience, only for the sake of gratification?

We can see that part of Blake's conception of heaven is that of a bohemian rejection of material comfort and instead a commitment towards self-sacrifice and asceticism that marks the *obligation* of a genius and by extension, the creative mind. This process, which mirrors that of a commitment to musical integrity and creating transcendental moments for the audience gives those who practice it a sense of divinity and of 'raising other men into a perception of the infinite' (see discussion of Success in the Audience Response in ection 6.3.3). Consider Isaiah's description of his encounter with God:

> I saw no God, nor heard in a finite organical perception; but my senses discovered the infinite in everything; and I was then persuaded and remain confirmed, that the voice of honest indignation is the voice of God. (Blake, 2004:pp76)

Indeed this sense of being in a divine state echoes the discourses drawn from musicians and they see themselves occupying a separate dimension to the 'real world' as well as a separate cognitive capacity which allows them to create music. The voice of honest

indignation mirrors the calls for musical integrity which can be found in this study. It is this supposedly honest indignation and the associated sense of divinity that marks the Sacred Code of Musicianship.

For musicians to move beyond the Sacred Code of Musicianship, as often results from economic necessity, musicians identify the following errors in the code:

1. That art and commerce exist as two distinct principles.
2. That money, seen as immoral, is alone from music.
3. That musicians who strive for the path of money abuse the sacred nature of music.

In departing from this Sacred Code of Musicianship, musicians come to believe that the following contraries to these are true; that possession of money is essential to the production of music and that the two must not be thought of as separate or indeed conflicting dimensions. Musicians now refer to those who refuse money as weak and naïve. By refusing commerce, these musicians can become by degree passive and vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous music industry practitioners. Furthermore the heaven that they create for themselves based on accepting the Sacred Code of Musicianship is one where their musical potentials are limited; they will find that the constraints of the musical production are being defined by their record label. As music is bound to money for production then this false heaven is not a location for the production of good music. Following this logic, we can see musicians who do embrace commerce

and forsake the sacred code as occupying hell. The following section considers the supposed immorality of thought as evidenced in the discourses of the musicians interviewed for this project.

7.4.2 The Proverbs of Hell

> As I was walking among the fires of Hell, delighted with the enjoyments of genius, which to angels look like torment and insanity, I collected some of their proverbs. William Blake (pp72)

We can compare the discourses that musicians refer to justify their rejection of the Sacred Code of Musicianship to the Proverbs of Hell as described by William Blake. The purpose of this section is to show how the discourses referred to by the musicians are demonstrably *immoral*, and this is the outcome of departing from the Sacred Code of Musicianship. First the proverbs as elaborated by Blake are presented and then followed by quotations from the data which serves as examples of this immorality of thought.

Prudence is a rich ugly old maid courted by Incapacity.

> *They don't have to fight for anything y'know, Mammy will have the dinner on the table and they'll go home and they won't have a relationship, y'know and they're (mimic's in a childish voice) 'I'm a musician and my work is more important' and all this but their work is shit, it's not that important at all, they're just up their arse, y'know, they never push out, y'know so there's no growth so it's boring.*
> *(Patrick Collins)*

A fool sees not the same tree that a wise man sees.

> *I'm making money to continue doing work which is what I want to do and the more money I make and this is kind of weird in people's minds I think, but the more money I make the more power and freedom I have as to who can use what and in what circumstances. It's weird.* *(Adam Dorn)*

The soul of sweet delight can never be defiled.

> *(Doing a corporate concert for a brand) managed to pull us out of a financial slump we were in, it meant more people who hadn't heard our music got to hear it which meant, y'know, in a way you're doing ripples all the time, little ripples and throwing stone pebbles into water. And if its someone paying us to throw a pebble into the water, bloody great, ah ha ha.* *(Ross Ó Snodaigh)*

The busy bee has no time for sorrow.

> *I mean you could end up doing two or three a day when you got really busy, you know it was like the classic session man thing where you were running around from studio to studio doing an ad. You know you could be doing Smithwicks the one minute and Ballyfree the next and whatever.* *(Greg Boland)*

No bird soars too high if he soars with his own wings.

> *'Somebody's got to pay the rent', and I think it's very cut and dry for me, I'm an independent record label and survival has to be my instinct.* *(Gerard Whelan)*

As the air to a bird, or the sea to a fish so is contempt to the contemptible.

> *There are die-hards everywhere. The Chieftains can get away with it, and not just get away with it, proving a point! Popular all over the world. I say they are least popular in pockets of Ireland than they are everywhere else. They're accepted everywhere but typical Irish attitude; somebody is doing well, you'll find some reason to knock them.* *(Martin Fay)*

Following a William Blake inspired view of ethics, the above statements ought to be taken as evidence of the level of immorality that musicians enter into when they abandon the Sacred Code of Musicianship. However it is here argued that morality has to be considered in its wider context. Having established that musicians can be divided into groups that are essentially moral and immoral, following Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*; these groupings are interrogated further in order to see can such a *marriage* or synthesis of morality exist.

7.4.3 A Memorable Fancy

> If Jesus Christ is the greatest man, you ought to love Him in the greatest degree. Now hear how He has given His sanction to the law of Ten Commandments. Did He not mock at the Sabbath, and so mock the Sabbath's God? Murder those who were murdered because of him? Turn away the law from the woman taken with adultery? Steal the labour of others to support Him? Bear false witness when He omitted making a defence before Pilate? Covet when He prayed for His disciples, and when He bid them shake off the dust of their feet against such as refused to lodge them? I tell you no virtue can exist without breaking these Ten Commandments. Jesus was all breaking these Ten Commandments. Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules. (Blake, 2004:pp85)

The words of the Devil, as described by Blake (2004) above inform us of the impossibility of achieving virtue without breaking rules and the immorality that results from breaking rules. Jesus himself is shown by the Devil as breaking the Ten Commandments in order to achieve virtue and it is this very paradox, it is now argued, that mirrors the acts of musicians as they break the Sacred Code of Music in order to achieve their musical ambitions. The question that should be asked is this; is musical morality possible by abandoning the 'honest indignation' and asceticism marked by the Sacred Code of Music? Blake concludes the powerful *Marriage between Heaven and Hell* by declaring 'everything that lives is holy'. The Devil agrees that Jesus was virtuous but in so doing Jesus had to reject the basic principles of morality outlined by God himself – the point is that virtue can only be achieved by breaking the sacred code.

As chapter four has illustrated this contentious relationship between music and the market as an ongoing dispute dates back centuries. We can see this relationship as taking the form of a continuous dilemma for musicians as they negotiate between artistic (Heaven) and commercial (Hell) realities. However as Adorno reminds us, culture and

administration remain dialectically tied together and as Blake reminds us too, in order to escape the repressive nature of conventional morality, we must consider Heaven and Hell as being married together. In his analysis of the attacks on the USA during September 11th 2001, Baudrillard (2001:pp3) embarked on such thought and concluded that we must move away from the naïve belief that the progress of the good correspond to a defeat of evil:

> Nobody seems to understand that Good and Evil rise simultaneously, and in the same movement. The triumph of the One does not produce the erasure of the Other. Metaphysically, one considers Evil as an accident, but this axiom, embedded in a Manichean fight of Good versus Evil, is illusory. Good does not reduce Evil, nor vice-versa: they are both irreducible, and inextricable from each other. In fact, Good could defeat Evil only by renouncing itself.

In his final sentence we can see the argument beginning to return towards Adorno's dialectic of the commodity form which this research extrapolated from his *Philosophy of Modern Music* (see section 1.5.6). Taking a completely different method to this research, Adorno based his philosophy on the analysis of the musical text, looking to see how the composer would negotiate musically between the demands of artistic desire versus culture industry constraints. This led to his famous denunciation of Stravinsky for striving towards authenticity which, for Adorno, served the purpose of providing listeners who sought authenticity in music but did so deceptively as authenticity was an unachievable myth given current social conditions. As opposed to this he championed the work of Schoenberg who paradoxically achieved authenticity by rejecting it: 'the absolute renunciation of the gesture of authenticity becomes the only indication of the authenticity of the structure' (pp214). Again it would seem that morality only becomes possible by embracing immorality.

In a sense this process can be seen to mirror the Lord and bondsman tail as described by Hegel (2001). In this influential text (see Desmond et al., 2000 for a contextualisation of the tale to consumer research) a Lord emerges from a battle between two consciousnesses as dominant over a bondsman. However, denied the respect of an equal but only of a bondsman, the Lord notes how the bondsman comes to recognise himself in his own labour for the Lord's enjoyment. Hence the Bondsman emerges as the true victor of the story whilst the Lord pines for his lost past. This process can be seen as mirroring the process whereby in order to achieve self-actualisation within the Sacred Code of Musicianship, the musicians (the Lord) become more repressed in their musical possibilities. Meanwhile those musicians who do not take the moral high ground and instead embrace administration thereby breaking the code (the bondsman), despite their immoral position start to produce a form of music in which they can realise their own aesthetic and musical ambitions. Denied this, the musicians of the sacred cCode lose their victorious stance.

As outlined in *the Philosophy of Modern Music* (1973) (see section 1.5.6) Adorno believed that composers could achieve their musical goal of creating authentic art through the content of their music. However, Adorno did not consider how musicians negotiate this desire as part of their day-to-day activities and this data shows that musicians are capable of moving towards a part rejection of the commodity process by embracing administrative tasks and through their balancing act. As concluded in section 1.6, whilst the musician may not absolutely achieve this goal of preventing music moving beyond its utility value, at least a certain element of it must be considered as retaining what Bataille

describes as 'real expenditure' (see section 1.5.1). Arguably Adorno underestimated the power of the musicians' business dealings and failed to see that the same processes he described in his *Philosophy of Modern Music* were being played out in the musicians' lifestyles, if not in their music itself. Therefore, in this sense the complete subsumption of artistic ideal within culture industry cannot be considered to be realised. In other words what this dissertation is able to show is that through a repudiation of the Sacred Code of Musicianship, musicians are able to move closer towards the production of 'authentic' music than perhaps at any stage previous in recent musical history. Rather than echoing Adorno & Horkheimer's (1998) pessimistic predictions regarding the potential for cultural production, this dissertation argues that through thoughtful interaction with the cultural industries, musicians can work towards a methodology that will allow them to produce a form of music that is not entirely constituted by culture industry.

In a sense we can see history as having moved full circle as we have returned, or rather we are returning to the point in history around the late medieval and Renaissance period whereby musical production was highly valued but not yet enveloped in a sacred code. As explained in Figure 17 we can see how the emergence of values relating to musicians as they emerged historically and gradually evolved into the Sacred Code of Musicianship during the romantic period. However these values are now, it is argued, returning to their starting point whereby music and money are not held to be separate principles.

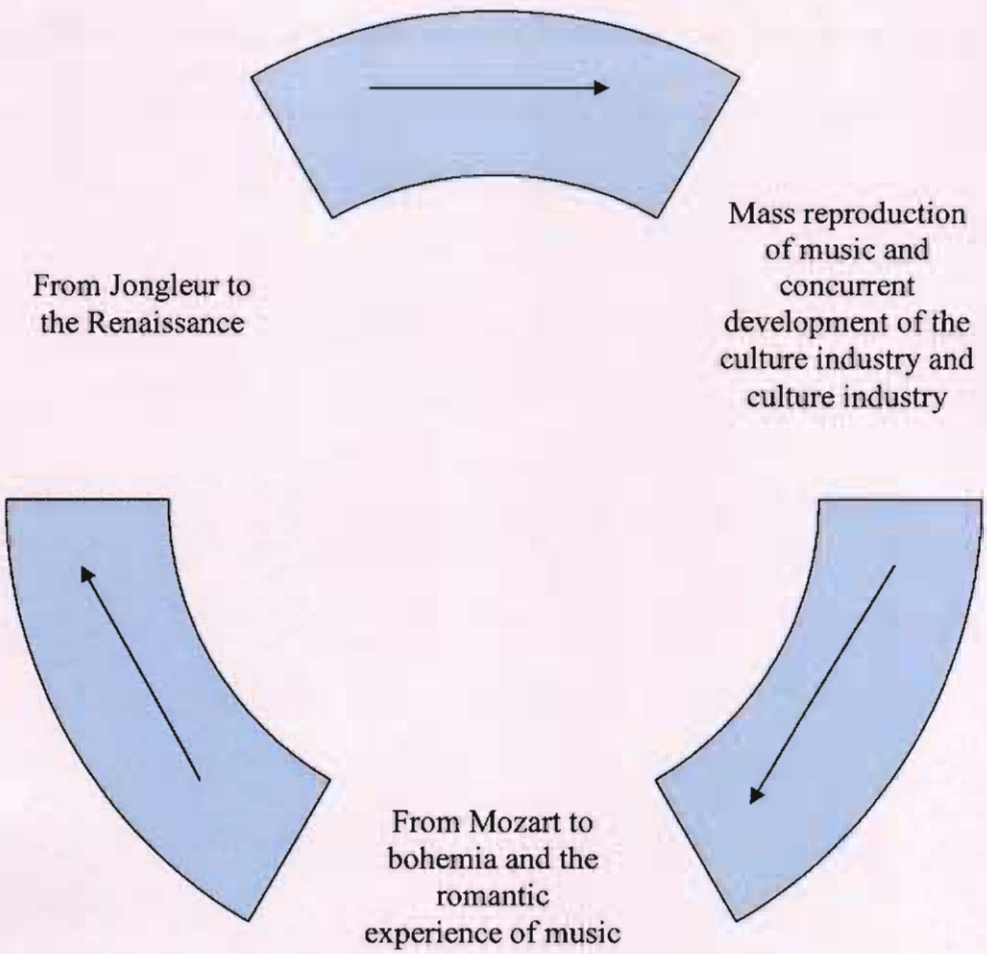

Figure 19 The Wheel of Music and Commerce in History

Chapter six outlines how the history of Western music can be read as an ongoing struggle between music and commerce as the latter attempts to dominate the former as music seeks to wrestle itself free. This contrasts to the late medieval and Renaissance periods whereby the performing musician and composer seemed quite content with their market relationship. Though economically bound to a vessel of power, the musician was not sufficiently frustrated with this relationship to rebel against it. Both Elias (1993) and Steinert (2003) argue that it was around the time of Mozart that musicians started to seek

to liberate themselves from the chains of their feudal employers and seek work in the mass market. From that period onwards, according to Steinert (2003), the musicians have been engaged in the fundamental conflict between art and commerce and it is accounting for this conflicting relationship which has defined a large body of research (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1998; Becker, 1991; Cottrell, 2004; Frith and Horne, 1987; Kubacki and Croft, 2004; Robinson et al., 1991; Steinert, 2003).

This research contributes to the existing body of research by showing how contemporary researchers are now able to find agency within this contentious relationship, with agency taken to be the means through which individuals are able to assert autonomy over the attempts of the social structure to limit and constrain behaviour (Abercrombie et al., 2000:pp9) . Instead of being integrated into reifying cultural industry mechanisms, many of the musicians interviewed are able to satisfy their romantic musical intention by taking advantage of the increased institutional co-existences and large commercial gains that can be made thereof. The price they have to pay is to engage in what would traditionally (following the bohemian ideology or Sacred Code of Musicianship) be regarded as immoral behaviour, but in a world where what is considered to be good and evil start to merge, the musicians emerge the other side very much empowered.

Having considered the contribution of the research in terms of theory, the question remains to be asked, what is the contribution from this study to its various different constituents? This question is considered in the following section.

7.5 *Implications for Research Constituents*

As this research is relevant to a wide range of people and institutions, the implications for several key constituents are now considered.

7.5.1 Musicians

This dissertation has demonstrated the repressive and confining nature of conventional morality as it relates to how musicians are expected to live and act professionally. By examining the development of this thought historically and tracing it to its routes in romantic thought, musicians can better understand the ideologies that they face, and this knowledge can empower them to reflect on these processes and decide how seriously they wish to take them. In short this research suggests to musicians that taking advantage of the wider institutional co-existences need not necessarily constitute a sell-out or a betrayal of artistic sensibilities, but rather offer potential opportunities for musicians to take control of their careers and to fund their musical ambitions in a way that has been hitherto impossible.

In general across the musicians interviewed it has been found that the respondents were keen to express themselves as moving away from conventional modes of operation by musicians. Noting what they regard to be the large-scale unfair exploitation of musicians in previous decades, the musicians interviewed in this set had a seemingly genuine determination to take control of their careers and administrative tasks in a way that formerly would have been impossible. The means by which some of these musicians set about achieving this were often highly impressive. To give three examples; Mick

Moloney was spearheading a collective legal action against a record label who, he claimed, had been exploiting musicians for years with a view to bankrupting the label and preventing them from conducting business in the future. Following the successful independent management of his own career Kieran Goss had established his own label and consultancy group named Cog Communications, which seeks to pass on the knowledge he has gained to other musicians in a way that empowers them to take control of their own careers. Finally Gerard Whelan, after a lengthy legal battle with his former record label which left him completely dissatisfied and depressed, independently produced a solo album and now self-manages what has now become a highly impressive and successful career. These examples are fairly representative of the spirit of self-confidence sweeping across the musician community and their ability to turn that confidence into successful action. This shows that the career profile of musicians is extending well beyond musical ability but also towards administration and an entrepreneurial inclination.

7.5.2 Music Industry

The growing independence amongst musicians, illustrated in this research, ought to be considered as part of a changing landscape of the overall music industry. These changes are empowering musicians at the expense of the conventional powerful record labels. In the future we can expect to see musicians interacting with record labels in a far less dependent manner. For example, we can expect to see musicians more reluctant to sign over the copyright for their music and, as two interviewees predicted, will lease their recordings to the record labels. This will present major challenges to the record labels as

they will be required to develop new management techniques should they wish to continue conducting business with professional musicians. Possibly the record labels are attempting to evade this situation by recruiting amateur musicians, for example through reality TV shows, where signing a record label is presented as a highly desirable prize as opposed to a business contract founded on the intention to commercially exploit the musician. In any case musicians such as Gerard Whelan, Rossa Ó Snodaigh, Colm MacConlamaire and Adam Dorn show that they are in no way dependent on the record labels to produce, promote and distribute their music.

Music publishers can continue to gain from the growing importance of the theoretical construct of 'musical fit' and advertising where increasing amounts of money are changing hands in order to secure synchronisation rights for musical works. As section 3.4.3.1 illustrates, certain record labels have sought to formalise institutional co-existences and have created companies whose task it is to liaise with advertising and background music agencies seeking to license music. For example, one musician interviewed Adam Dorn who extensively licenses his music does not just wait for licensees to discover his music, instructs his manager to send his music to licensees. Given the sometimes large amounts of money that changes hands to license particularly desirable pieces of music, the publishers can now benefit by conducting the same business as advertising agencies and undercutting their competitors on price.

7.5.3 Advertising Agencies and Background Music Companies

As noted in this research, the turn towards musical fit has resulted in radical changes in the way both advertisers and background music suppliers use music in their productions. The absence of a systematic process for the selection of background music ensures that the ability to take advantages of musical fit will reside in those companies and agencies who have creative and musically knowledgeable staff. Following from the discussion presented in section 7.5.2, this dissertation predicts that the on-going institutional co-existences will ultimately result in mergers between the different culture industry vessels.

In particular the development of musical fit means that the process of selecting music for advertising and servicescapes is based on the same theoretical structure and therefore requires a very similar type of knowledge and expertise. As musical fit inclines a commitment towards organisational branding, the servicescape background music can now be understood as a form of advertising. Furthermore technological developments now means that a much wider range of customisation is possible as vocal messages and adverts can be inserted within background music programmes for each business. This means that the extent of mutual interest between the two industries is increasing and provides further grounds for an expectation of mergers and general convergence of interests across the cultural industries.

We have now entered an era when the classic elevator music style supplier of background music – most colourfully described by the writings of Haden-Guest (1973) and typified by the Muzak corporation of the 1970s – is by now all but dead largely due to the

paradigm shift represented by the rise of musical fit. Today the Muzak Corporation has radically altered its business model in order to benefit from the consequences of musical fit, which has called for outright reform regarding the organisation of the industry. Based on consultative work that the researcher has conducted within the industry, it is noted the response of organisations has been to try and mix the two paradigms especially as many clients remain locked into prior Milliman-esque conceptions of how background music works. The challenge facing the major suppliers of background music is to, in a very gradual way, re-shape the market and how it understands the potential benefits of musical fit.

7.5.4 Implications for Public Policy

As this thesis has been undertaken in Ireland, it is Irish public policy towards the relationship between art and commerce which informs this discussion. In Ireland the state has a policy of directly funding artistic projects which would otherwise struggle to exist in ordinary market conditions. The main vessel implementing this policy is the Arts Council which was established in 1951 and whose primary activity is the circulation of funding to artistic bodies in need of funding (Tregaskis, 2001). Underneath the umbrella of the Arts Council, exists an organisation named Aosdána who are a collective of Irish artists (including musicians). Aosdána provide an annuity to Irish artists to enable them to sustain their careers (www.artscouncil.ie).

The expenditure of the Arts Council is a constant source of criticism as numerous bodies and artists are forced to compete for the allocation of their scarce resources (Tregaskis,

2001). One particularly controversial event was when Aosdána refused membership to the world renowned Irish jazz guitarist, Louis Stewart, on the grounds that jazz did not satisfy its criteria of being 'original and creative' much to the horror and outrage of the Irish music community (O'Byrne, 2000).

Underlying the government policy towards intervention in the arts, this thesis now argues, is the sacred code which argues that money and art exist as separate principles. By the state directly funding artists, there is an acknowledgement that the artist should be protected from the market as the market represses artistic freedom. However, following the re-evaluation of this sacred code, this thesis has argued that this concept itself is repressive and that those artists who are best able to operate within a commercial spectrum are those who are most likely to succeed in realising their musical ambitions. Furthermore the understanding that art and commerce exist as two distinct principles is itself flawed and repressive. Therefore, the best way for the state to assist musicians is not based on a policy of direct subsidisation but rather of encouraging musicians to take advantages of the opportunities presented by the culture industries. This does not mean leaving the musicians at the mercy of the industry but rather arming them with the knowledge that will allow them to operate within this industry and achieve their objectives through performing their complex balancing acts. Therefore, this thesis recommends that musicians would be best served by wider access to educational bodies that will provide the musicians with the necessary business acumen. Courses specifically tailored to musicians would be a very useful creation. Also the continuation and development of schemes such as tax reliefs for musicians at early stages in their career

making them less reliant on the culture industries for income. The knowledge and potential tax breaks will, it is argued, empower musicians to approach the culture industries with greater confidence.

7.5.5 Implications for Future Research

This research contributes to a slowly growing body of work that relate to music's historical, social and consumption context and specifically drawing on research which argues that music has a political economy that can inform our knowledge and understanding of the marketplace and wider consumer society. This thesis does not provide a definitive understanding of the many complex forces that come into play with music in the consumer society rather it seeks to redress what this dissertation has argued was the premature variable analysis research of music into marketing contexts without a fore knowledge of how the two are dialectically bound together. With this knowledge it is hoped that the academy can move towards a more informed analysis which may ultimately move us away from what has been shown to be the imbroglio state of research (see section 2.4.4.2).

This research has focussed on how musicians understand and negotiate this dialectical relationship. Naturally there is potential to further explore these dynamics from the perspectives of consumers and also from the different vessels of the culture industries. Such research could contribute to a deeper understanding of the forces described in this study. For instance the research has noted a growing sense of confidence and entrepreneurialism within the musician community. This creates a new landscape for the incumbent record labels as they must learn to deal with musicians in new ways. Research could be undertaken into the

changing nature of the music industry. Similarly, important insights could be gained from background music suppliers and advertisers as they work with the theoretical concept of 'musical fit'. As noted, the academies' understanding of this important theoretical development is very much limited and in an imbroglio state, further research into this field would be very useful indeed.

This study began the process of historicising the relationship between music and the market. There is potential to make this historicisation the object of a research study in its own right. This study could take the historical development of the relationship between music and market from the medieval period to the current day. Of particular interest is how the values of musicians would stand in relation to the development of the consumer market. One important question is, to what extent did the bohemian ideology emerge out of consumer resistance and does the anti-globalisation movement of today stand in direct lineage to this intellectual movement?

Future studies of music could consider the symbiotic relationship between the cultural frameworks that orient how people interact with commodities and the political economy of music and the complex relationship that results between consumption, culture and music. Questions to be asked are; what is the role of historical and political narratives in these musics, and in contemporary consumption and production? How does technology change music consumption and production? How can music consumption studies contribute to consumer research and our understanding of consumer cultures? Are the

production and consumption of music starting to merge into a single process and if so, is this a harbinger of significant social and marketplace change?

One of the strengths of this dissertation is that it has drawn from numerous disciplines. As noted the degree of inter-disciplinary exchange regarding studies of music has been low and this has been detrimonious to the overall development of knowledge. The creation of a cross-disciplinary and international research forum relating to music in the consumer society would be a timely and helpful project. The relevant disciplines include marketing and consumer research, consumer culture, social psychology, sociology, historical musicology, musicology, human resource management and aesthetic psychobiology. Such a venture could attract research funding from a number of interested councils or bodies.

This research, considered alongside De Nora's recent publication *After Adorno – Rethinking Music Sociology* (2003), can be considered as part of a new drive to add an empirical dimension to the seminal research of Adorno & Horkheimer and cultural industry processes. There is huge potential to continue developing the empirical methodologies so as to allow us to see the processes which Adorno & Horkheimer described. Indeed this research interest can extend beyond music and consider wider macro issues such as how capitalist ideologies are communicated within the culture industry and, how consumers relate to these processes and become, supposedly, reified by them. The sudden surge of interest in critical theory, marked by the organisation of a series of seminars in Critical Marketing in British universities, illustrate how timely the

effort to allow for a greater degree of empiricisation of Adorno & Horkheimer's thesis. As their research strategy has been almost completely neglected hitherto in marketing there is considerable potential to disseminate such research.

In completing this dissertation, Holt's research framework has been of huge assistance and benefit. As noted, this framework allows for a far more systematic selection of grand theory and also a more systematic application of grand theory to mid-range theory. As marketing and consumer research continues the trend of drawing from an increasingly grand pool, Holt's framework is definitely recommended for research projects on almost any topic imaginable.

7.5 Chapter Summary

To summarise, this chapter has discussed the limitations of the thesis before considering where the study stands in relation to prior scholarship regarding musicians. The theoretical contribution of the research and in particular the Sacred Code of Musicianship was outlined and presented. Last the implications of the study for the various research constituents were considered.

Finally, to return to the quotation that opened this research from David Cassidy (see introduction) where he described his shame at seeing his own face on his breakfast cereal box, we can say that commodification is an essential part of life as a professional musician and should not impose a burden of shame on the musician.

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Appendix A Profile of Musicians Interviewed

Adam Dorn

Adam is son of the legendary Atlantic Records producer Joel Dorn and grew up surrounded by musicians such as Roberta Fleck, Bette Middler and Dr. John. He learnt to play bass guitar at the age of 12 and by 14 he had already commenced his career as a session musician. At 16 he left for New York to work as an apprentice for the producer Markus Miller and worked in the production of albums by musicians such as Miles Davis, Luther Vandross and others. He studied at the renowned Berkley College School of Music before returning to New York to work as a session musician recording with international pop stars. Following his increasing involvement in French pop music, Adam moved to France where he worked as producer, session musician and sideman for a number of pop musicians including Roch Voicine. Having returned to New York, Adam started to explore his interest in electronic music and, working under the title Mocean Worker, Adam has gone on to produce four solo albums. He is regarded as one of the chief exponents of avant garde electronic music and has collaborated with notable musicians such as John Cale, Laurie Anderson, Brian Eno and Moby. He has scored the music for a number of films, advertisements and documentaries including the soundtrack for the film *Million Dollar Hotel* on which he worked alongside Bono, The Edge, Brian Eno, Daniel Lanois and Gavin Friday.

Michael McKeegan

Michael plays bass guitar with the Northern Ireland heavy metal band Therapy? which he joined in 1990. The group were signed to Ouija Records before being bought by the label A&M. During the mid-90s they hit their commercial peak with albums such as *Screamanger, Troublegum* and achieved celebrity status. In 1998 they left A&M and have continued to tour, and regularly appear on the main hard rock festival in Europe and record albums with a series of independent labels.

Shaun Davey

Shaun has built himself a reputation as one of Ireland's foremost contemporary composers. He was educated in the history of art in Trinity College, Dublin and became lecturer in art at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London before returning to Trinity to lecture. He left the world of academia to pursue a career as a singer songwriter and collaborated closely with Donal Lunny. Failing to gain commercial success, he started to tend towards composing music for advertising including writing the jingle *Pride of the Herd* which was so popular that it was subsequently released as a hit single. His major break into serious composition came with his suite *The Brendan Voyage* which featured the uilleann piper Liam O'Flynn. Since then he has forged a career in composition in which elements of Irish traditional music have been highly influential. His best known works include *The Brendan Voyage, The Pilgrim, Granuaile* and *The Relief of Derry.* His dramatic and epic composition style is typified by featuring pipe bands, drum corps, folk ensembles, choral groups, solo traditional singers and musicians (Meek, 1999a). He has an international profile for composing for theatre and film, most notably his compositions for the Royal Shakespearean Company in London and feature films such as

The Taylor of Panama, *Waking Ned* and his music for the BBC television series *Ballykissangel.*

Gerard Whelan

Gerard Whelan was born in London and at a young age moved to Dublin where he responded to a notice in the Irish music magazine *Hot Press* for a lead singer in a new rock band An Emotional Fish. During the 1980s the band were signed to Warner Records in what was then the biggest ever recording contract for an Irish band. The group recorded three albums and embarked on several major tours with U2, the Happy Mondays and playing the festival circuit alongside bands such as The Pixies, The Velvet Underground, Sonic Youth, Blondie, and Nirvana. One of their hits *Celebrate* (which he composed) was recently voted as one of the most popular Irish songs of all time in a massive RTÉ and IMRO sponsored poll. The band finally dissolved following a bitter and lengthy legal dispute with their German record label. Gerard then took a five year absence from the music industry during which time he travelled the world only to recently resurface in the new guise of Jerry Fish. He self-recorded, produced and financed the album *Be Yourself* and released it independently. The album has since gone gold and Vodafone used one of the songs, *True Friends*, in their television advertisements.

Thom Moore

Thom Moore is an American-born singer-songwriter who was raised in the Lebanon and Ethopia. He has served in the US Navy, worked as a military journalist in Vietnam during hostilities, acted as a translator during the inspection of US decommissioning of nuclear armament during the close of the Cold War and became a Professor of English at the Udmurt State University in Izhevsk, Russia. In the USA Thom developed an interest in American and Irish folk music and performed regularly on the then vibrant California and Hawaii folk circuit. Following his experiences as an anti-war protestor during the Vietnam War and after his release from the army, he travelled to Ireland to embark on a musical career which saw him form the seminal group Pumpkinhead and Midnight Well who included the accordion player Martín O'Connor, the singer Cathy Donavon (his then wife) and whose album was produced by Donal Lunny. Since then Thom has established himself as one of the most successful songwriters in Ireland providing songs such as *Carolina Rua* to Mary Black and *Saw You Running* to Maura O'Connell as well as recording two solo albums, *Dreamer in Russia* and *Gorgeous and Bright.*

Greg Boland

Greg Boland is a singer songwriter who studied in the Royal Irish Academy of Music. During his twenties in the 1970s he worked as a session guitar player and played in various contexts including many advertising spots. He joined the group Supply, Demand and Curve and recorded an album before joining the group Stagger Lee. In 1975 Greg became one of the founding members of the folk rock cult group Scullion alongside Philip King and Sonny Condell. The group recorded four albums including *Balance and*

Control, which was produced by the legendary John Martyn. Greg Boland left the band in 1986 and has been engaged in many projects most notably his collaborations with the uilleann piper Davey Spillane. His most recent role has been as President of the newly formed Musicians' Union of Ireland who campaign for better working conditions for musicians.

Rossa Ó Snodaigh

Rossa is one of the founding members of the progressive Irish group Kíla who are an independently managed and resourced group. In his teens he busked on Grafton St with a group of musicians who went on to have a huge influence in the current alternative scene in Dublin including the Frames, the Mary Janes, Kíla and Mark Duignam. Kíla have a large following in Ireland and on the Irish circuit in the USA where they regularly play the summer festivals. As an Irish speaker, Rossa often appears on Irish speaking television and radio stations and has published his often controversial views on the future of Irish music in the *Journal of Music in Ireland.* Brother of the Sinn Féin member of the Irish parliament, Aengus Ó Snodaigh, Rossa is well known for his political views and has organised many concerts to raise funding and awareness for nationalist political casuses. Recently he re-started the old Dublin tradition of public Hyde Park style soap box speaking and has provided a forum for public discourse.

Paul Noonan

Paul started his career in the Lucan Concert Band before joining the rock group Juniper as drummer. On the verge of recording their first album with Polygram Records, the band were left in crisis when lead singer Damien Rice (who has since launched a highly successful solo career) dramatically left the band. The remaining group members decided to continue and changed the name of the band to Bell X1 with Paul becoming the lead vocalist. Since then they have signed a recording contract with Island Records, subsidiary of Universal Music and have released two albums.

Donal Lunny

Donal is a vastly experienced figure who towers over the Irish music scene as a bouzouki, guitar, bodhrán, composer, arranger, record producer and music rights activist. His early music career included membership of the duo The Rakes of Kildare with Christy Moore before forming the seminal and hugely popular group Planxty with Christy Moore, Andy Irvine and Liam O'Flynn and who were signed to Polydor Records. He left Planxty to work on a collaboration with Shaun Davey before joining a second highly influential supergroup, The Bothy Band which included some of most influential musicians of the period (Cranford, 1999). In order to release their records, Donal established the record label Mulligan Records which went on to become one of the most important and progressive labels in Ireland. Donal finally left the Bothy Band to join a third highly important group, Moving. They were signed to WEA Ireland and their first album *Moving Hearts* entered the charts at No. 1. Since then Donal has been involved in a series of other projects including the group Coolfin. Hummingbird Records recently

released a two-album set which features the highlights of his career to date. He has been responsible for the development of the instrument the 'Irish' bouzouki, has played alongside Van Morrison, Mark Knopfler, Elvis Costello, Kate Bush and Rod Stewart and has produced over 100 albums (Cranford, 1999). He has worked as presenter and musical co-ordinator on numerous television productions including *Bringing It All Back Home, A River of Sound* and *Sult* (Cranford, 1999). He served as a director for the Irish Musical Rights Organisation before controversially resigning in protest over the body's lack of concern for musicians' causes. Since then he has emerged as a key figure in the newly formed Musicians' Union of Ireland though he is primarily resident in Japan. The day before the interview he co-headlined the bill at the Lisdoonvarna Festival in the RDS in Dublin where he played alongside Christy Moore and Declan Sinnot to a crowd in excess of 35,000.

Mick Moloney

Mick Moloney is a highly respected figure in the American Irish music scene. He started his career in his early teens travelling Ireland as a balladeer in the Michael Ryan Travelling Show. He went on to join the group Emmet Spiceland alongside Donal Lunny. After that he moved to England to join the hugely successful group The Johnstons whose line-up included the famous song-writer Paul Brady and were signed to Trans Atlantic Records (Vallely, 1999). In 1973, Mick emigrated to the USA where he quickly established himself as a key figure in the US Irish music circuit and has since produced over 40 records and has been active in many cultural groups. He has had an extensive national television, radio and documentary career as producer, presenter and performer. As an academic he has published numerous books and holds a PhD in folklore and folklife from the University of Pennsylvania. He is currently spearheading a massive joint legal action against the American record label Green Linnet alongside the musicians Altan, Cherish the Ladies, Joannie McMadden and Eileen Ivers. Finally he is the second person to hold the position of Global Distinguished Visiting Professor at the New York University, in which he has succeeded Adorno himself.

Patrick Collins

Patrick has established himself as probably the leading jazz violinist in Ireland and regularly performs alongside the top jazz musicians in the country. He launched his musical career with the pop group Mushroom who had short-lived commercial success before he left Ireland to work as a professional musician in London and in Paris where he became integrated into the colourful bohemian scene. He returned to Ireland in the 1980s where he recorded an album with Louis Stewart and became part of the group Phantom Orchestra. He has developed his interest in classical violin and recorded a concerto for violin and piano with Peter Reeves. His current project is as part of the popular gypsy ensemble the Café Orchestra whom have recorded two albums and who now play almost exclusively corporate concerts. In film he has appeared in *Agnes Brown* and *Michael Collins* as well as various advertisements including a long running MacDonalds television ad in which he was dressed as a clown. His most recent album was with the Croation guitar player Drazen Derk.

Hugh Buckley

As a jazz guitarist, Hugh was born into Buckley jazz dynasty which has produced several seminal jazz figures including the saxophonists Dick, Michael and Richie Buckley. However Hugh did not learn any musical instruments until he started playing guitar at the age of 17 and was soon proficient enough to launch a professional career on the Dublin circuit. He is a member of the ensemble Isotope along with Michael and Richie Buckley and has established himself as a jazz composer. He has recorded two solo albums in New York, both featuring the legendary US pianist James Williams and his independently produced last album, *Spirit Level,* has become the last recording of the legendary drummer John Wadham who died in 2003.

Christy Moore

As a singer songwriter and balladeer, Christy is a hugely popular and well-loved performer and personality in Ireland. He launched his musical career with the duo Rakes of Kildare with Donal Lunny before leaving music to work in a bank in the provincial town of Clonmel. In 1966 he left the bank to work as a touring performer in the folk scene in England where he recorded his first album *Paddy on the Road (Ahern, 1999).* He returned to Ireland in 1971 and recorded the album *Prosperous* (Ahern, 1999) which led to the formation of the highly influential and successful group Planxty (see Donal Lunny). When they split in 1975 he pursued a solo career before forming the group Moving Heart (see Donal Lunny). As a political activist and political songwriter he has never shied controversy and his repertoire includes the song *They Never Came Home* about the burning of the Dublin Stardust nightclub and the death of the young people inside. He has an intense performing style and has written various popular songs including *Don't Forget Your Shovel, Whacker Goes to Stuttgart* and *Veronica,* his tribute to the murdered journalist Veronica Guerin. Christy recently came out of his retirement for a third time and continues to play to huge audiences and recently published his autobiography *One Voice.*

Robbie Harris

Robbie has established himself as one of the top bodhrán players in the country and has played as a session musician in numerous contexts including playing for Zoe Conway, Emer Maycock, Elliot Randall and Eileen Ivers as well as various theatrical and orchestral pieces. He joined Riverdance as a soloist during their residency in the Radio City Music Hall in New York before joining their touring entourage which has seen him perform in the top music venues all over the world. He has composed music and recorded an album which he intends to release independently.

Kieran Goss

Kieran Goss is a singer songwriter from Northern Ireland who abandoned his legal career to pursue a career in music. He left Northern Ireland to play in the Irish pub circuit in

Europe and lived for a while in Germany before returning home to record the album *Brand New Star* in 1989. Since then he has fiercely promoted his career independently and has formed the project management company Cog Communications to pass on the benefits of his experience to other musicians whilst allowing them to maintain their independence. Kieran has become a successful performer and recording artist on the international circuit and was recently named as the Irish Songwriter of the Year in the Irish Music Magazine Awards, 2003.

Karl Ronan

Karl received his education in music at the Royal Irish Academy of Music, the University of Ulster and the Brampton College of Music, Canada. He has been a member of the Irish Youth Orchestra, the Royal Irish Academy Orchestra and the National Symphony Orchestra and has regularly performed as guest soloist with numerous other orchestras. Karl is arguably the best trombone player in Ireland whose career as a session musician has seen him play on a huge number of popular recordings including albums by Oasis, The Spice Girls and Boyzone. He has played on a numerous film soundtracks including as a featured soloist for the film *The General.* He has played trombone in all imaginable contexts from weddings, funerals to circumcisions! He is a key member in the newly formed Musicians' Union of Ireland and a strongly spoken activist for musicians' rights.

Martin Fay

Martin commenced his career as a musician in the 1940s playing in the Irish holiday resort in Butlins during his summer holidays from school. He received his musical education at the Municipal School of Music. Working as a part-time musician, he joined the Abbey Theatre Orchestra in the 1950s to perform music for Brian McMahon's play *The Honey Spike* when the reknowned Sean Ó Ríada was musical director at the Abbey (Bradshaw, 1999). That ensemble went on to form the seminal group Ceoltóirí Chualann, headed by Ó Ríada whom Martin became a close friend with. Ceoltóirí Chualann made numerous radio performances and recorded the albums *Ó Ríada sa Gaiety, Ceol na nUasal* and *The Battle of Aughrim* as well as the highly regarded soundtrack for the film *Playboy of the Western World* (Bradshaw, 1999). Following Ó Ríada's sudden death in 1971, Martin, along with the former members of Ceoltóirí Chualann – Seán Potts, Michael Tubridy and Paddy Maloney, all left their jobs to form the hugely successful group The Chieftains. The Chieftains have played for over thirty five years and still exist to this day. Their line-up has included such giants of Irish traditional music as Matt Molloy, **Derek Bell, Peader Mercier and Seán Keane and they have played** with pop-stars such as Ry Cooder, Tom Jones, The Rolling Stones, Marianne Faithfull and the Corrs. They have recorded over fifty albums and film scores and have toured all over the world playing in some of the most renowned venues including numerous engagements at the Royal Albert Hall and Carnegie Hall. In 1993 they were awarded two Grammys having been nominated for five and have went on to receive further Grammys in 1994, 1996 and 1997 (Meek, 1999b). **Following the** death of harpist Derek Bell, Martin Fay has gone into semi-retire**ment and only makes** rare appearances with the group.

Bill Whelan

Born in Limerick he studied law at University College Dublin and King's Inn before abandoning his legal career to become a commercially unsuccessful singer songwriter. He started work playing keyboard in the orchestra pit of *Jesus Christ Superstar* and started to work as a session musician in Ireland. Gradually he moved into musical copying and arrangement and in 1971 he scored the music for the film *Bloomfield* and later arranged a successful modern adaptation of the light opera *The Pirates of Penzance.* As a producer he worked on various projects including the song *What's Another Year* which was a Eurovision Song Contest winner and number one single for Johnny Logan. In 1979 he joined the group Planxty playing alongside Christy Moore and Donal Lunny. Following their break-up he started to work increasingly in composing music for advertising where he became closely associated with Shaun Davey and also gained fame for leading resident music groups on Irish television shows such as *Saturday Night Live.* In his latter years he decided to focus exclusively on his work as a composer and as such, with his strong Irish traditional music influence, composed a number of works including *The Ó Riada Suite, The Seville Suite, The Spirit of Mayo, Some Mother's Son* and *Timedance* which he co-composed with Donal Lunny for the 1981 Eurovision Song Contest. In 1994 he achieved international acclaim when his composition *Riverdance* was performed at the Eurovision Song Contest along with the dancing of Michael Flatley and others. The performance was a spectacular success and was subsequently released as a single and reached the number one spot and stayed for 18 consecutive weeks. *Riverdance* was turned into a theatrical show with new music composed by Bill. It went on to become a huge international success and has had residencies all over the world including the Radio City Music Hall in New York and at one stage had five different companies performing the showing around the globe simultaneously. He is currently working on the production of a new musical.

Colm MacConlomaire

Colm started to play fiddle with the group Kíla (see Rossa Ó Snodaigh) and became part of the group of buskers in Dublin's Grafton St. who almost all became successful musicians. In 1989 he joined the rock group The Frames who got an unexpected boost when their lead singer, Glen Hansard, landed the role of Outspan in the hugely famous film *The Commitments.* The group were signed to Island Records in 1994 only to be unceremoniously dumped after their first album. They later signed to ZTT Records, again unsuccessfully and released numerous albums though were clearly involved in a public dispute with their label. In 1999 they went independent and have moved from strength to strength. They have spearheaded the revival of the rock scene in Dublin and have been highly influential. Their 2002 album *For the Birds* was a critical success. In 2003 they proved their mass appeal by sharing the bill with Christy Moore at the Lisdoonvarna Festival in the RDS where they played to 35,000 people. They have also maintained their international presence and tour regularly in Europe, Australia and the United States of America. Colm has also been involved in numerous other projects, most notably his collaboration with the popular Welsh singer David Grey.

Pierce Turner

Pierce began his musical career at the age of 15 touring the country with showbands. He moved to Germany during the 1970s and engaged in a number of musical projects there before emigrating to the USA at the age of 21 alongside Larry Kirwin who went on to become lead singer with the Irish-American group Black 47. Pierce and Larry formed the group Major Thinkers and signed to Epic Portrait Records, and had a hit with the song *Avenue B Is the Place To Be* and toured with such groups as UB40. During this time Pierce started to compose for theatre and signed a solo contract with the English label Beggars Banquet. The hugely influential and successful composer Philip Glass produced his first album and the song *The Hills of Wicklow* was declared by BBC cult DJ John Peel to be his favourite song of all time. Since then Pierce has pursued his career independently and continues to live between Wexford and New York. As a songwriter he has had songs performed and recorded by Christy Moore and has composed music for film. He has developed a highly individualistic style of arrangement based on the string quartet, his electric guitar playing and his quirky singing. His last album *Three Minute World* was a polemic against the Celtic Tiger Irish economy.

Appendix B Topic Sheet for Interviews

Can you please give a brief autobiography of your life as a musician?

Have there ever been times that you wanted to do something else other than be a musician?

Have you ever had any of your music used in an advertisement?

Can you please describe the process in which it came to be used?

Have you ever declined permission for your music to be used in an advertisement?

If so can you please explain what happened?

Which piece of music that you have made are you most proud of?

How would you describe your experiences in dealing with the music industry?

List of Publications

Conference Poster

Bradshaw, A., Sherlock, R., McDonagh, P. (2002). Music and Consumption – the soundtrack to our lives. Poster presented at the *British Forum for Ethnomusicology* at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Conference Competitive Papers

Bradshaw, A., Sherlock, R., McDonagh, P. (2003). On the methods of researching music in everyday life: Assessing the musician as producer of commercialised music. *European Advances in Consumer Research.* Volume 6. (ed Brown, S. & Turley, D.): pp193-198.

Bradshaw, A. McDonagh, P., Marshall, D & Sherlock, R. (2004). "You Say You Want a Revolution" – Music in Advertising and Pseudo-Counterculture. *Macromarketing Scholarship and Education for a Global Century – Papers of the 29th Annual Macromarketing Seminar.* (ed Mittelstaedt, J. & Shapiro, S.):pp72-82

Bradshaw, A. McDonagh, P. & Marshall D. (2005). The Original Wrapper: Lou Reed and the myth of authenticity in the musical commodity. To be presented at the *Ninth International Conference on Marketing and Development* at Thessaloniki, Greece.

Conference Special Session

Bradshaw, A., McDonagh, P. & Marshall, D. (2005). Locating Music Aesthetics within Consumption Studies. To be presented in the Special Session The Sounds of Consumption: Listening to the Musical Landscape (chaired by Schroeder, J. & Giesler, M.) at the *European Advances in Consumer Research,* Göteborg Sweden.

Journal Publication

Bradshaw, A., McDonagh, P., Marshall, D., Bradshaw, H. (2005). 'Exiled music herself, pushed to the edge of existence' – the experience of musicians who perform background music. Forthcoming in *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, Special DVD issue (ed by Belk, R. & Kozinets, R.).